

# The Antiquaries Journal

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All communications on Editorial matters and books for review should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary, Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W. 1.

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# The Antiquaries Journal

VOLUME XXXVI

JULY–OCTOBER 1956

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## ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

By SIR MORTIMER WHEELER, *President*

[Delivered 23rd April 1956]

In opening this, my second, Anniversary Address, I will ask you to lend me your imagination: for I am in fact writing it in the capital of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan a few days after the melodramatic removal of British control from the Arab Legion. The swarming population of Amman, tense and expectant, is dry tinder to any spark that blows, and sparks are not lacking. As I drove down the main street this morning, rifle-shots punctuated the uneasy flow of traffic, and hysteria waxed and waned with an ugly uncertainty. But, having said that, I turn to more relevant matter. I was on my way to the office of a Jordanian architect to discuss with him the preparation of a building in Jerusalem to house, for the first time, a resident British School of Archaeology. He received me with charm and coffee.

Now a British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem is of course no new conception. The School was in fact founded in 1919 in close affinity with the Palestine Exploration Fund, which had been established as long ago as 1865 and was a pioneer among such societies; and the new School was itself the first British School of Archaeology outside Europe. But, for various inadequate reasons which do not concern us, it remained a name without a habitation. In this respect it lagged far behind the equivalent French and American institutions, and indeed only the hospitality of the Americans ensured the accessibility of its library. The violent political troubles which harassed Palestine in and after 1936 were a sufficient bar to further progress, and, by the time of the present armistice, archaeological leadership there had long passed into alien hands.

In 1952 the case for British prestige in this matter was represented strongly to H.M. Treasury by the British Academy, and a token recognition of the British School was secured from that source. But only now, in the present year, has the Treasury at last accepted the principle of something more substantial than a wandering name. On all grounds, the action may be acclaimed; and the credit, though due primarily to the Treasury, must be shared by our Fellow, Dr. Kathleen Kenyon, who, as Director of the School, has laboured unceasingly to set it firmly upon the map. At last, the School is to have a permanent home at Jerusalem for the housing of the School's secretary, students, and books.

In his capacity as Chairman of the School in Jerusalem, your President has not

hesitated to give priority to this development today, not merely as an important administrative advance in a world which, year by year, becomes no easier for archaeologists, but above all as the complement and sequel to an enterprise of very unusual archaeological importance. For five seasons now, our Fellow, Miss Kenyon, Director of the School, has been excavating the *tell* of Jericho with unsurpassed skill and determination. That in itself might not be a fact worthy of special note; on three previous occasions in this long-suffering mound attempts have been made to find a material context for Joshua and his predecessors. But this new work of Miss Kenyon's has far exceeded precedent and anticipation in its bearing upon the sum total of human achievement on a world-wide scale. I offer no apology for recalling the main issues.

Let me begin by affirming, as I do with little fear of contradiction, that, in the whole secular procession of material advance, three human attainments tower above all others in grandeur and implication. I have in mind the production of fire, the production of food, and the production of mechanical energy. Of the first, I need only remind you of its immense priority in human discovery; of the last, it is unnecessary to say more than that today we are in it up to the eyes, so much so that we can scarcely see ahead. Between those two extremes, at a point in time which is becoming increasingly manifest, is suspended the third episode, in many ways the greatest and certainly the most pacific of the three, the achievement of food-production: in other words, the domestication of animals and plants. That episode, I need hardly say, marked the turning-point in social prehistory; from that moment, social progress became suddenly and increasingly precipitate. As an objective for archaeological research, no problem surpasses that of the time and circumstance in which man finally freed himself from opportunist living and became master simultaneously of his food and of his fate.

When and where did this rebirth occur? In the present state of knowledge, the *oldest-looking* culture with which crop-farming may be associated is still the 'Natufian' which our Fellow, Miss Garrod, brought to light on Mount Carmel in Palestine. True, the clumsy composite sickles of flint and bone which appear in that culture have been received with some hesitation as evidence of crop-growing. Were they not used for reaping wild grains and grasses before the days of cultivation? The question seems to be answered in the negative if we accept the assertion that these clumsy instruments would merely shatter the brittle wild grasses of the wheat kindred, scattering rather than collecting the loosely-held seeds. 'One of the principal changes by domestication has been the selection for non-shattering quality. Primitive harvesting of grass seeds is by seed-beaters and baskets. A sickle, and especially a stone sickle, would have lost the seed. The presence of the sickle is an argument for already domesticated grain.'<sup>1</sup>

In any event, we can merely guess the antiquity of the Natufian. It *may* have flourished some ten thousand years ago; but so far as I am aware the only objective test—by the radiocarbon method—has not been applied to it, and its temporal position remains in doubt. At present, the oldest fixed point for agriculture is that

<sup>1</sup> Carl O. Sauer, *Agricultural Origins and Dispersals* (American Geographical Soc., New York, 1952), p. 81.

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which radiocarbon has given us for Dr. Robert Braidwood's agricultural villagers at Jarmo, east of the Tigris in northern Irak. There three tests, carried out on charcoal and the shells of edible snails, have supplied the remarkably consistent answers of 4757 B.C., 4654 B.C., and 4743 B.C., within the usual margins of error. We may say, therefore, with some confidence that agriculture has been carried back to 4700 B.C. Beyond that point, precision ceases.

Now Jarmo is a village-mound only 3 acres in area and 23 ft. high. The lower 15 ft. of that height represent accumulations of small multi-roomed rectangular houses associated with barley and two kinds of wheat but with no pottery. It is neither necessary nor reasonable to suppose that this tiny group of farmers lies at, or even very near, the root of our problem. Pending a more detailed report, it is apparent only that their wheat represents an early phase of plant-breeding, in which human selection is present but has not been carried very far.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, let us turn back to Jericho, over 550 miles away to the south-west.

At Jericho the surviving mound, from which still higher levels have long been washed away, stands to a height of 70 ft. and covers an area of 8 acres. Four-fifths of its present height, amounting to some 45 ft., comprise successive occupations of a Stone-Age population wholly lacking in the art of pottery-making but equipped with mortars or querns and other evidences consistent with agriculture. In fact, though actual grain of this remote period has not yet been found, the presence of agriculture is not seriously in doubt. On at least four occasions this ancient Neolithic settlement was fortified with massive stone walls or revetments, in one early instance associated with a circular tower; and the relative antiquity of the principle of fortification is demonstrated by the circumstances that the earliest defences of all are built on the native rock of the hillside and include a formidable rock-cut ditch. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the solid self-sufficiency of the place. From the very outset, Jericho was a permanent fortified settlement based upon a settled economy of a developed kind beside the spring which, winter and summer, carves the oasis out of the desert. To indicate the astonishing potential of that spring, it is enough to recall that today, in addition to the established town, it supports an adventitious population of 70,000 refugees.

How old is the earliest Jericho? The results of radiocarbon tests are still awaited.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, we may recall that pre-pottery Jarmo rises to a height of 15 ft., whilst pre-pottery Jericho rises to a height of no less than 45 ft., that is, three times as high. Jarmo goes back to 4700 B.C. Not to overstate the possibilities, it will suffice at present to surmise that Jericho goes back appreciably farther; and since it carries back with it, as I have said, a mature system of fortification and all the aspect of an evolved civic entity, I have no hesitation in offering Miss Kenyon's first Jericho to you as by far the earliest exemplification of agriculture and of town-life at present known to us in the world. I shall not be at all surprised to learn in due course that the first city of Jericho is several centuries, perhaps millennia, earlier than the first urban essays of Mesopotamia and Elam.

<sup>1</sup> See Hans Helbaek in *Univ. of London Inst. of Archaeology, Ninth Annual Report* (1953), p. 47.

behalf of Professor F. E. Zenner give dates ranging from 8000 to 6000 B.C. for some part of Neolithic Jericho.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary results announced subsequently on

One more point, and I have done with this matter of food-production. The oasis was claimed long ago by Professors Childe<sup>1</sup> and Hawkes<sup>2</sup> as a likely instrument in the domestication of animals, by concentrating human and animal life in familiar propinquity within the close environs of a spring. I would suggest the possibility of a similar origin for agriculture. One thing at least is certain: it was not in the flood-plains of formidable rivers such as the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Indus that the earliest agriculturists first trained their crops.<sup>3</sup> The great river, in flood as destructive as it is creative, must be harnessed by engineering skill which, implying agriculture, must be secondary to it. On the other hand, the gentle environment of the oasis—perhaps in some locality of Syria or Palestine, where the emmer wheat is native—offers a reasonable setting for the first crops. We shall never know the full truth of the matter; but the fortified spring which Jericho now presents to us at a very early date hints that in origin the domestication of animals, the cultivation of crop-plants, and the emergence of town-life may be more closely associated in time and space than we have sometimes dared to suppose.

I turn from the Hashemite kingdom to the British Commonwealth, and there invite your attention to a parallel matter which should not be without interest to a society of our range and standing. Mention of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem may remind us that we have similar schools in other parts of the world: in Rome, Athens, Baghdad, Ankara. But in the whole of the British Commonwealth, with its vast and various regions and its miscellany of peoples, many of them on the way to home rule, there is not a single equivalent institution. The fact is both the symptom and the cause of a cultural neglect which, in all moderation, must be described as a national scandal. I do not wish to elaborate that aspect of the matter; we may more profitably concern ourselves with remedies than with recrimination. Still less would I impute blame to our present administrations; the evil is of long and gradual growth and has, I am afraid, become a part of our colonial inheritance. What we can and must do is to refrain from passing it on.

Neglect. Few territories of our Commonwealth have an Antiquities Ordinance worthy of the name, fewer still an Antiquities Department capable of giving effect to such an ordinance. Destruction by man and nature proceeds apace; save for the work of a few devoted individuals, research is at a standstill. Last August, by invitation of Sir Eldred Hitchcock and the recently constituted Tanganyika Archaeological Society, and with the backing of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, our Fellow the Rev. Gervase Mathew and I went to East Africa for the dual purpose of seeing a little of the archaeological problem and of conferring with authorities and individuals on the spot. This is not the context for a detailed report, but certain generalities and possibilities are worthy of an interim note.

<sup>1</sup> *What Happened in History* (Pelican Books, 1942), p. 44; *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (London, 1952), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe* (London, 1940), p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> As in so many matters, the Egyptians have

been credited with priority in agriculture; e.g. T. Cherry, 'The Discovery of Agriculture', a paper (otherwise useful) read to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science Congress, Melbourne, 1921.

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First, the problem. The territories which occupied our thoughts in this little mission were Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. In all those territories our present archaeological knowledge—or ignorance—is comparable with our geographical knowledge of the same region a century ago, before the generation of Livingstone and Burton and Speke got to work upon it. In making that statement I have no wish to underrate the high importance of the work which Dr. Leakey, Mrs. Sonia Cole, Mr. James Kirkman, and a few (very few) others have carried out here and there, particularly in Kenya; but the magnitude of their pioneer work emphasizes its isolation. There is at present no overall planning, no machinery for such planning, and, above all, no commensurate attempt at conservation.

The problem falls administratively into two parts. Conservation and all that goes with it—listing, ‘scheduling’, rescue-excavation—are necessarily a government responsibility, based upon a comprehensive ordinance such as that which exists effectively in Cyprus and nominally in Aden. In East Africa, Tanganyika alone has at present a roughly comprehensive Antiquities enactment, but, with less adequate sanction, Kenya has in fact done more in the field, working within the framework of its Royal National Parks Commission. Uganda lags behind both the other territories, but its present Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, is personally interested and something may happen there soon.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty is partially—but only partially—that of finance; the financial issues are not in reality of a seriously formidable magnitude.

The other problem is that of research. At present in none of our colonial dependencies is there any established machinery of the kind represented by those schools in Rome, Athens, and elsewhere, to which I have already referred. In saying that, I am not overlooking the pioneer work of Mr. A. W. Lawrence and his colleagues in West Africa. Rather am I lamenting the insufficiency of the tools with which they have to work. The moment is due—long overdue—when we should provide within the Commonwealth facilities of the kind which we have for many years supplied for historical and archaeological research outside it: in the shape of schools or institutes capable of focusing scholarship and, not least, of stimulating within the territories themselves a proper curiosity in the matter of national or tribal inheritance.

Now this matter of research is a good deal more than a purely administrative problem; it must also be a response to academic and even public demand, it must be broadly founded. In East Africa at the present moment there is indeed a growing, though very unequal, sense of the need for provision of the kind which I have indicated; and, without prophesying too narrowly, I have some reason for supposing that within the next year a beginning may be made by the establishment of an East African School of History and Archaeology, designed to provide facilities both for African and for non-African students and scholars working in the African field. Such a school, let me emphasize, will be the first of its kind within the Commonwealth. If successful, as it must be, it will serve as a pattern (we may hope) for similar advance elsewhere—for example, in the West Indies, where so little has been

<sup>1</sup> Since this address was delivered, the Government of Uganda has in fact created the post of Archaeology Officer, and our Fellow, Mr. Peter Shinnie, has been appointed to it.

done and where there is much to do. At the same time I would stress the urgency of this development. Political evolution is the order of the day, and, unless we establish a sound cultural basis in our overseas provinces while authority remains in our hands, we shall fail sadly of our trust to them. In India we succeeded, but we owe our success there to one man: Lord Curzon. In the present year of grace our sense of responsibility is happily more widely distributed than it was in Curzon's day, but we are still unconscionably slow to act. I have thought it desirable to bring before you, thus summarily, both the great need for action and the not unreasoned hope that some tentative steps may shortly be taken. I would add that our present colonial administration is not unaware of these matters and, amidst many distractions, has found time and sympathy for them in a measure that augurs well.

From the ends of the earth I turn to more domestic matters. (I will confess to you in an undertone that there are moments—though only moments—when 'an acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia'.) Today we have listened to solemn words from our Treasurer. I commend them to you in all earnestness. Our Treasurer I have known for many happy years, and to those of you who are less fortunate I would say this: that he is a man to whom alarm and despondency do not easily come. But, as Horace foresaw, he is also *indocilis pauperiem pati*: very properly, he is not prepared to sit down under an adverse balance. To put it bluntly, this year—for the first time in my experience—we have failed to pay our way. The alternative remedies are of course to spend less or to earn more. To do the former is to curtail our usefulness and to hazard our prestige. Already our publications are ponded back into a spreading flood: *Archaeologia*, which has long set a world standard of antiquarian presentation, is now to be published in relatively slim form every two years instead of, as formerly, in substantial bulk twice a year; whilst the manuscripts of at least two Research Reports are in cold storage upstairs and others are on the way. All this is not merely a question of the deferred publicity of new material, though that is serious enough in all conscience; it means, often enough, that new work misses its context and the whole tempo of research is adversely affected. Moreover, the *apparatus* of unpublished writing does not 'keep' indefinitely, and its revision is itself a task by no means free from recurrent difficulty. In my last Anniversary Address I had something to say of the responsibility of archaeologists themselves in the matter of the prompt delivery of their reports, and nothing that I am now saying lessens the primary need for such promptitude. It is paramount. But the secondary impediment in this matter of printing and publication, unless we can deal with it effectively, is a frustrating force which will incidentally level the just and the unjust and must indubitably demoralize research within the foreseeable future.

It is therefore with a renewed sense of urgency that I remind you of the existence of the Bicentenary Publications Fund to which our Fellows have more than once been invited to contribute. Let me bring this appeal home to you in the simplest terms: *if every Fellow of our Society without exception will contribute a guinea a year under a seven-year covenant to our Publications Fund, a great part of our present crisis will be resolved*. I emphasize every Fellow: let there be no further hesitation. Some

part of our Fellowship has already made its contribution; my appeal is now addressed to the more hesitant majority, and I am confident that in this moment of direst need I do not appeal in vain.

Happily, our Director's *History of our Society* is not amongst the deferred publications. But for the malaise in the printing-trade, it would have been in our hands an appreciable time ago. I take this opportunity of thanking the author in your name for the time and devotion which she has accorded to this very considerable compilation. Like all histories since the world began, it represents a personal approach to a problem which can be tackled from many and various angles; as the poet reminds us, 'There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays, And every single one of them is right.' Dr. Joan Evans's chronicle of vicissitudes since the idea of our sodality was first mooted in the time of Queen Elizabeth I is a vivid social document which, unlike some of our monographs, is easy fireside reading. I had nearly added that in some respects it is also a cautionary tale.

And now at last I come to the culminating point of this occasion—the presentation of our Gold Medal. The most widely recognized British name in archaeology at the present time is, I have no doubt, that of Professor Gordon Childe. When, not long ago, I was invited to take part in a symposium in the University of Chicago, the first request addressed to me was, 'Tell us about Professor Childe.' In another distinguished university I am assured that undergraduates, in selecting their courses of study, first ask, 'Has Gordon Childe written a book about it?' He generally has. To summarize Childe's achievement in a phrase, I would say that his is a life-work of *creative synthesis* in the prehistoric field, on a profound and widely international scale. *The Dawn of European Civilization*, *The Danube in Prehistory*, *The Aryans*, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, *Man Makes Himself*, *What Happened in History*, *Social Evolution*, and now *Piecing together the Past*, are all classics of their kind, and are merely the foreground of a vista of vast depth. Indeed, the title of his latest book, *Piecing together the Past*, might well serve as Childe's heraldic motto, should he ever, when he reaches years of discretion, decline sufficiently into a degenerate feudalism to take unto himself a shield of arms. There is today not an archaeologist or sociologist within the range of the English language who, in matters of prehistory, is not directly or indirectly indebted to the universal scholarship of our new Gold Medallist. And if I repeat what in a different context I said just now, that all histories necessarily represent a personal approach to their problems, I do so in full recognition of the solid, enduring content that is perfectly consistent with that personal approach. On the last page of his last book Professor Childe observes that when 'the ideological delusions, the superstitions have been expunged, the acts they inspired have left a profound mark on the archaeological record'. There is no doubt as to the profundity with which Professor Childe himself has marked the archaeological record of our time: and now, by the authority and in the name of the Society of Antiquaries of London, I have both pride and pleasure in presenting my old and honoured colleague with our highest award, the Society's Gold Medal.

## FIELDWORK ON AERIAL DISCOVERIES IN ATTICA AND RHODES

### PART II. ANCIENT FIELD SYSTEMS ON MT. HYMETTOS, NEAR ATHENS

By JOHN BRADFORD, F.S.A.

THE scene of my inquiries in Attica in 1955 was the coastal plain south of Athens, on the very doorstep of the city. The background was formed by the magnificent profile of Hymettos, with its long, impressive, but not forbidding skyline. The bare rounded mountain sides are steep but towards the foot they give place to gentler slopes composed of soil washed down from above; and even the narrow plain itself is tilted towards the sea. The soil of this zone is notably rich, *terra rossa* and *rendzina*—some of the best soil near Athens.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this fact would have been as obvious to ancient farmers as it is to those who today are restoring large-scale cultivation to the zone.

The remains of the ancient field systems which are to be described consist of (i) abandoned terraces and boundary walls, preserved today in the form of earthworks on hillsides, above the present limit of cultivation, (ii) traces of the same terracing lower down the slopes and on the plain, where modern agriculture is either obliterating them and reducing them to a 'buried landscape', or has retained some of them in use for the present.

These remains have attracted almost no attention; admittedly on the ground they are not especially spectacular, but from the air their overall layout is, in truth, an impressive sight. Pl. IX shows the value of a vertical air view in finding and mapping them. I have chosen a representative example, showing an area of 2,000 x 1,400 yds. inland from Glyphada. At the top of the photo are the higher slopes of Hymettos, bare and without signs of cultivation; across the centre of the photo one can see a zone covered with remains of long-abandoned cultivation terraces (now grass-covered), separated into blocks by the deep-cut beds of winter torrents; while lower down, and vividly contrasted by the paler tone of bare ploughed soil, is the area brought under modern cultivation, with the old terraces partly levelled but still visible—like a bony anatomy protruding through the skin of surface soil. Even when totally levelled they still survive as parallel lines of white 'soil marks'—caused by the additional amount of stone débris in the soil where walls formerly stood (details are given on p. 175). In the case of Greece the aerial study of 'soil mark' sites—well-known as indicative of buried structures—has been little practised so far: and an extensive use of this type of latent archaeological evidence, in this way, marked a new step forward.

It was in 1943, when examining air photographs of Greece for German defences,

<sup>1</sup> See *Soil Map of Attica*, 1:100,000, by I. A. Zvorykin and P. J. Saul, 1948.

that I first saw evidence of ancient field systems on the lower slopes<sup>1</sup> of Hymettos and on the plain. In 1945, when on military duty in Athens, I was flown over the region and was able to see these remains personally. Further study in the post-war period confirmed that they adjoined the sites of ancient demes which had a long history of occupation in Greek and Roman times. Down the length of this plain, spaced at roughly equal intervals, the positions of five demes have been identified. Strung out in a chain, these villages stood to Classical Athens rather as the line of country villages from Kensington to Richmond stood to seventeenth-century London. Strabo lists the names of the demes.<sup>2</sup> The long-standing problem has been to fit them to the correct sites. The evidence from inscriptions and from fieldwork has been the subject of a recent detailed study by Mr. C. W. T. Eliot of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and he has established a satisfactory solution<sup>3</sup> which he has kindly allowed me to quote.

Accordingly we can adopt the following list of equations between (i) the demes and (ii) their location in the modern landscape:

(i)	(ii)
<i>Euonymon</i>	Tráchones.
<i>Halimous<sup>4</sup></i>	Between Chasani and Ay. Kosmas.
<i>Aixone</i>	Glyphada. <sup>5</sup>
<i>Halai Aixonides</i>	Palaiochori. <sup>6</sup>
<i>Anagyrous</i>	Vari.

It may seem remarkable that there remain extensive areas of minor earthworks which require mapping and study in a zone only five to ten miles from the capital. The explanation is as follows. In the nineteenth century, and as recently as only thirty years ago, this coastal zone was in a state of medieval simplicity. The landscape was almost entirely given over to a pastoral economy, with large flocks of sheep and goats grazing far and wide over its bare expanse. In this it was very like Apulia, or parts of Etruria, in Italy. Mr. Geroulanos, the owner of the Tráchones

<sup>1</sup> These are talus slopes with a fair depth of soil—a piedmont belt of fans below the scarp face of Mt. Hymettos.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, Bk. IX, i, 21.

<sup>3</sup> This supersedes the earlier and conflicting hypotheses of Milchhoefer, &c. Mr. Eliot's advice on the situation of the demes has been most helpful, and it is hoped that his conclusions will be published in full. Grateful acknowledgement is also made to the British School of Archaeology at Athens, and to Professor Homer Thompson, for assistance in my work.

<sup>4</sup> See Hondius, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1919-21, pp. 151-60, 'A new inscription of the deme Halimous' (found when the present coastal road from Phaleron to Vouliagmeni was being built—which is as recently as 1921).

<sup>5</sup> The presence of a number of Mycenaean

graves points to an early settlement of this spot, while other remains testify that occupation lasted into late Roman and early Byzantine times. The problem about the theatrical decrees related to Aixone has now been solved: they were reported as found 'in vico Trachones'. But this was misleading, for in the nineteenth century the whole of the district from Tráchones to Vari belonged to the single Tráchones estate. The term has no topographical precision.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Eliot reports a large Classical village at the spot called Palaiochori (see map in *Polemon*, 1929, fig. 55). There are numerous remains of houses and the surface pottery ranges from sixth century B.C. to Roman. The site is situated just north of a convenient little bay which has, or had, salt pans—thus agreeing well with the designation 'Halai' Aixonides.

estate and himself a skilled archaeologist, has described to me the picture presented by this landscape in 1920 when no more than half-a-dozen large farms, strung out between the suburbs of Athens and Vari to the south, constituted the main settlement of the whole length of the coastal zone. Mr. Geroulanos has shown me, too, an air photograph of part of the plain which was taken in 1926 before the drastic changes of recent years had taken effect. Athens today is growing at an enormous rate and with disagreeable results. Its expansion after the 1914-18 War has been accelerated and extended in every direction after that of 1939-45. Large-scale cultivation has returned to the southern coastal plain, and many parts of it now resemble a great medieval 'open field' system, divided into strips without inclosure by walls or ditches, for corn crops. A myriad small shacks and villas are, in turn, spreading like a rash over this regenerated agriculture, parcelling the land into little holdings. Many areas are being ploughed for the first time for centuries.

The long-derelict state of agriculture has preserved the remains of ancient terracing hereabouts. Such remains, which are widespread in Greece, have not yet received sustained attention archaeologically because the abundance of architectural monuments has had priority over simple earthworks. But if we wish to probe the archaeology of the rural landscape of classical Greece<sup>1</sup>—to picture fully this essential part of that world—we must now give much closer attention to the humble remains of fields, and of farms associated with them.

The considerable extent of the remains of old terracing revealed by air photos in this area of Attica proves that the ancient past presented a very different story from the recent past. A description of the data obtained by air photo interpretation has been given in my book *Ancient Landscapes*, and the account to be given here is devoted to the topographical evidence seen and collected on the ground, confirming and supplementing the former. Such fieldwork is urgently needed at the present time, for the levelling of the ancient terracing is proceeding fast in the revolutionary change sweeping across the landscape. Only a few months before my visit, elaborate new systems of roads laid out in gridded plans had been carved out of the hill slopes behind Glyphada by means of mechanical excavators, and these stark new roads had cut clean through the best of the terraces which, there, are preserved as solid earthworks (up to 5 ft. high) under grass.

Because the hills lie parallel with the coast the lines of the terracing are normally orientated in the same direction. Towards the sea their remains can be traced as far as the shore itself at one point—on the northern edge of the sprawling new seaside resort of Glyphada. Inland, they reached as high as the 900-ft. contour line in some places—for example behind Glyphada, and on slopes round the head of the Pирnari valley,<sup>2</sup> and inland from Tráchones. Such remains of ancient cultivation end at the line where the steep slopes begin, where the character of the hill-side changes suddenly and the surface is denuded of soil. It is interesting to note that the new fields and roads laid out in recent years have their stop at the same natural limit.

One fact to be emphasized is that the distance between the parallel lines of ter-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. an earlier study by P. Guiraud, *La propriété foncière en Grèce usqu'à la conquête romaine*, 1893, esp. pp. 181 seq. and 458 seq.

<sup>2</sup> The Pирnari valley is the long valley cutting into Hymettos north-east of Glyphada.

racing is not constant, or based on a regular subdivision like Roman centuriation. Here, the distance is determined by an essentially practical matter, the gradient of the slope. Speaking generally, the terraces highest up the hillside stand about 40 to 50 ft. apart, halfway down about 70 ft., and on the plain from 100 to 130 ft. apart—although there are many exceptions even to this general statement. One essential fact is clear: this form of field-layout was applied to this whole area in order to minimize the deadly effects of erosion of the surface soil.<sup>1</sup> We shall return to this vital matter in a moment.

Let us look at these remains more closely, first as they are visible on the hill slopes, and next on the plain. There is considerable contrast between the state of preservation, and therefore the appearance, of the remains located on the hills and on the plain. On the latter, traces of ancient agriculture have been erased to a much greater extent than on the former. But, in fact, both are fundamentally homogeneous and form part of the same system of cultivation.

First, then, the ancient terracing on the hill slopes. Modern farmers in this region tell me that such terraces would have been suited best to the growing of olives, with a crop of corn under them. Presumably, such terracing would have begun to appear as soon as cultivation became intensive—for the building of revetment walls in line with the contours is the obvious way of disposing of the innumerable stones in the topsoil.<sup>2</sup> Archaeologically, the position of a buried terrace-wall is often clearly shown in the form of a white 'soil-mark' produced by a line of stones which has 'weathered-out' on the surface, e.g. the line diagonally crossing pl. x a still marks the edge of an old terrace even when it has been almost earthed-over by soil washed down in the course of centuries past. But in many cases the white stony line is much more prominent. For example there are many lines of crumbled terraces which are signalized by a broad stony belt, which can be as much as 40 ft. in width, on the down-hill side. Even a slight slope with a drop of only 1 or 2 ft. is kept bare of earth by surface erosion! Therefore it is usually the slope (i.e. the débris of the crumbled front) rather than the level part of the terrace which, in fact, produces the colour-contrast, so useful to aerial mapping. In a few places a part of the stone face of a terrace has been stripped bare by erosion (e.g. pl. x b); in all probability its original construction was as well-built as the best modern terracing, as for instance in Provence or in western Cyprus. In 1955 we covered, on foot, most of the zone marked on fig. 1, studying the various forms in which evidence of terracing survives on the bare, rocky slopes of Hymettos. The best remains lie inland from Glyphada and Tráchones. Some of the earthen terraces were still marked by well-defined slopes surviving to a height of 5 ft.<sup>3</sup>—while the trace of others was only a line of white stones (partly obscured by herbs and grasses) small in themselves but completely diagnostic. These terraces

<sup>1</sup> Supplementary to its anti-erosion rôle, terracing in Mediterranean lands also serves another basic function—i.e. to assist the natural conservation of water by slowing-down the run-off of rain water, so giving it time to sink into the soil.

<sup>2</sup> On the plain the surplus stones are chiefly gathered into mounds. Many of them have been

termed tumuli, but there is considerable difference of opinion about the origin and use of such stone mounds (*Antiquity*, 1954, p. 207).

<sup>3</sup> These substantial earthworks would also make good 'shadow sites', for oblique air photos taken in a slanting light.

were not produced for the needs of irrigation, for the seasonal supply of water in the beds of the winter torrents down the slopes is a menace, and not a benefit, to agriculture on the hillsides. A good illustration of this fact was noted by us in 1955.



FIG. 1. The oblique lines show the extent of ancient terraced cultivation, planned from air photographs. The dotted line marks the 250-metre contour.

Bordering the bed of a winter torrent we found the remains of a revetment wall built to protect the ancient terracing from erosion. The site is near the centre of the area on pl. ix. Pl. x d gives a ground photo, looking along the lower slopes of Hymettos, with Glyphada down by the sea on the extreme right. In the foreground is the deep bed of the water-course, dry in summer. Across the centre of the photo can be seen part of this long, straight wall of large 'cyclopean' blocks of stone (preserved to a height of 4 ft.) which ran alongside the bed, and which protected and supported the flank of a large block of terracing at right-angles to it.



Vertical air photo of ancient terracing revealed by 'soil marks' and earthworks on the slopes of Mt. Hymettos behind Glyphada.

Scale: 1 inch = c. 260 yards

Crown copyright



a. Line of stones showing the top of a terrace, behind Glyphada



b. Debris of an ancient terrace, behind Trachone



c. Pirnari Valley: a line of orthostats as a field boundary



d. Revetment-wall protecting ancient terracing from erosion, behind Glyphada

Remains of ancient fields on the slopes of Mt. Hymettos (pp. 175-7)

Photographs by J. S. P. Bradford

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On the southern slopes fronting the long Pirnari valley which cuts into the Hymettos range we observed some important remains of ancient field-boundaries of a distinctive construction on the bare, rocky hillside. These consisted of lines of flat stone slabs set upright on their ends, i.e. orthostats. These bounded small fields of rectangular shape, which were more obvious at eye-level than on the air photographs. From comparisons, there is little or no doubt of their Classical origin and date. Plate x c shows the present appearance of one of these ancient field-walls, formed of vertical slabs of stone standing up to 3 ft. high; some lines run up-hill, i.e. not as terraces. These field-walls have not been previously recorded. From its present state it is clear that this spot has been totally abandoned by agriculture for very many centuries.

Little has been published about the remains of ancient fields in Attica. But, fortunately, there is one excellent and clear parallel for these rectangular fields enclosed by walls. It comes from an archaeological survey of the deme of Sounion by Mr. J. H. Young.<sup>1</sup> A comparison with his evidence quickly shows the similarities. This study was based on two inscriptions, found in the Agora at Athens, which refer to property held by Sounion demesmen of the 'Salaminian' clan in the fourth-third centuries B.C. This property included a good stretch of arable land at a place called 'Porthmos', which he identifies with a small coastal plain near Bounda Zeza ('Black Point') a few miles north-east of Cape Sunium. Mr. Young examined this area carefully in order to locate actual archaeological remains which would correspond to the general picture obtainable from the inscriptions. 'The region about Porthmos', he writes, 'must have been occupied by a small farming community with fields of grain marked off from each other by boundary stones and walls, with threshing floors, farmhouses, and at least a small olive grove.' Of special interest to us is the evidence of ancient fields which he noted—in particular an ancient field-wall with branches running from it at right-angles, built of stone slabs set vertically in the ground (compare photo, *op. cit.*, fig. 10). They resemble exactly the straight walls inclosing ancient rectangular fields which we found on the south side of the Pirnari valley. It is important to note that at Porthmos they were in association with the sites of Classical farms which Mr. Young located but did not excavate (*op. cit.*, p. 191 and fig. 11). His report also illustrates an interesting and rare piece of evidence for a field mark or boundary stone—fortunately preserved by a slab of rock which had been cut so as to provide the base for a small stele. Other remains of ancient field-walls could be distinguished from extra accumulations of small stones, and he observed that such lines, running across the bare rocky slopes, could often be seen better at a distance (*op. cit.*, p. 190). Part of the ground round the bay is still under cultivation, and he considered that some of the present terraces seem to be built upon ancient ones which served, he adds, 'to hold back the earth along the winter stream beds'. The area covered by his fieldwork was more compact, and less disturbed in modern times, than mine, but in the archaeological evidence there is much that is common to both. A study of air photographs should certainly add to the fields found at Porthmos, and I have this in mind.

<sup>1</sup> 'Studies in South Attica; the Salaminioi at Porthmos', *Hesperia*, x, 1941, pp. 163-91.

Reverting to the Hymettos area we come next to the remains on the lowest slopes and on the plain. Modern cultivation now covers almost the whole, but some of the old terraces (especially in the area of the Pirnari valley) have been taken into use, and the plough keeps to their lines. Progressively, however, they are being cleared away, and many efforts are being made to level them. Soon few will remain. I noticed instances where the mass of stones which formed the revetment-wall of the terrace were actually being dug out. But this is very laborious, for these banks of stones form a massive obstacle. Generally the farmer has been content to remove the edge of the terrace gradually by ploughing over it, and in this case a stony 'soil-mark' remains for observation on the ground and from the air. On air photos these remains of a 'buried landscape' resemble corrugations or ripples across the surface of the present expanses of ploughing. The closer we approach the coast the more faint are these traces. Often, only a thin white line of stones protruding from the ground has survived to show where a field-wall stood originally. On patches of ground between new houses on the edges of Glyphada, and even in their gardens, such traces of the earlier landscape are still visible—and we gave some time to this unusual form of archaeology in a suburban waste land. Without the air photos as a guide one would not notice these lines of almost levelled earthworks, or understand that they had formerly extended, in methodical rows, over so vast a zone.

True, the German surveyors and archaeologists who prepared sheet VIII (dated 1885) of the *Karten von Attika* had already recorded a few indications of ancient agriculture in this zone, but only in one small part of it—i.e. in an area now on the northern fringes of Glyphada. In this area, 1½ miles wide, between the sea and the inland line of the ancient main road to Athens, they marked on their map (using the red overprint reserved for antiquities) some traces of about twenty straight field-walls or terraces—a good beginning but in fact only a very small proportion of the total layout.<sup>1</sup> In 1885 this area was wild moorland,<sup>2</sup> and some of this moorland pasture remained intact as recently as 1943 when air photos gave a detailed picture of this fine group of ancient field-divisions, set in parallel lines. But in 1955 I found that new houses and army camps had obscured or even obliterated most of these earthworks. This is regrettable for they were among the best examples in the whole area round Hymettos, being notable for their orderly regularity of layout which strongly suggested an origin in the classical world. Their position was close up against the north side of *Aixone* itself.<sup>3</sup> The slope of the plain to the sea is only slight here, and probably the terraces or field-walls were never high—but today their remains are only a few inches in height. Even with the help of the air photos it is now a difficult matter to identify them on the ground, and to follow the low

<sup>1</sup> An air view showing the remains of these fields and the ancient road can be studied in my book *Ancient Landscapes*. This photograph is a valuable record, for this sector of the road, which was one of the best along its whole course, has since been largely covered with new houses.

<sup>2</sup> Dodwell described this part of the plain as being 'covered with bushes'. *Tours through Greece in 1801 and 1805-6*, i, 556.

<sup>3</sup> *Aixone* was a relatively large and important deme. The *Karten von Attika* recorded extensive traces of buildings for a distance of over 1,200 yds. But it seems probable that the village in Classical times stood a little distance from the sea (like other Attic coastal demes in this period) and lay near the ancient main road—only spreading down to the coast in late Hellenistic and Roman times.

stony mounds and white soil-marks. From vestiges of these parallel lines seen on the photos it is clear that they originally extended down to the sea itself, and in reality there are very many more than those noticed by the German map-makers. Moreover, as we can now see, the small area of ancient fields which they recorded is of course only a fragment of the very much larger zone of remains round Hymettos which must be considered as a whole.

It is not only in Attica, but in all Greece and indeed in the Mediterranean as a whole, that ancient terracing presents problems to archaeologists. In all regions there is one absolute essential before further progress can be made, and this is the detailed study of *one limited and distinct area*, (i) by 'total mapping' (by air and on foot), (ii) by excavation (especially of the associated sites of farms) in search of datable material. Mapping and dating—these requirements are basic and paramount.

To balance the remains of terracing which I have described on the western slopes of Hymettos there ought, naturally, to be traces of the same kind on the opposite, eastern, side of the hills, on the edges of the Mesóyia plain (the 'Midland'—important equally in ancient and modern times for its fertility). It is noteworthy that such remains can, in fact, be clearly seen; and they can be seen, also, on the Aigáleos hills in proximity to the sites of ancient demes on the north side of Athens. A study of air photos, and of the ground, makes these facts apparent. This report cannot go into details about them, or about the remains of ancient terracing in the Peloponnese which we examined in 1955—for example at Karathona Bay, a mile or two south of Nauplion, where I had noted extensive traces of abandoned terraced cultivation on the grass-grown hillsides round this deserted bay, in the course of my study of British war-time air photos. A ground-check confirmed their resemblance to those on Hymettos. I should add that the *Karten von Attika* shows numerous areas with remains of ancient agriculture in need of similar study; and some specific examples have been listed in *Ancient Landscapes*. Similar surveys could be directed with profit to some of the Aegean islands—to Delos<sup>1</sup> for example—and naturally also to adjacent lands among which Turkey, Syria, and Israel must be noted in especial.

Finally, then, to summarize the facts about Hymettos and its environs. We have seen that there are two primary questions: what, in truth, are these extensive parallel banks of earth, now partly obliterated—and how are we to date them? To the first question we have given an answer. High up the mountain side, where they are best preserved, they have a profile that resembles the 'strip-lynchets' which are found in England and owe their formation partly at least to continual ploughing along the slope. It can be agreed that ancient ploughing may have emphasized these 'stepped' profiles on Hymettos, but essentially and primarily they must have been caused by deliberately constructed terracing.

When we come to the question of date, we must remember that—apart from the study of Roman centuriation—the field archaeology of ancient cultivation is still relatively undeveloped in many parts of the Mediterranean. The copious remains of

<sup>1</sup> Compare remains of ancient terracing, which continue in use, *Exploration Archéologique de Delos*, Fasc. IV, i, fig. 58.

ancient terracing have never had a Crawford or a Curwen to study them. Let us think, for a moment, of European archaeology as a whole. The nineteenth century saw a wide recognition of the existence of ancient field-systems—and the first half of the twentieth witnessed increasingly systematic attempts to map them. It is only in very recent years that we have moved forward to the next stage, in England, Denmark, Holland, and Apulia—namely the vital attempt to date field-systems by excavation, i.e. by fact and not by inference. No archaeologist would deny the difficulties inherent in this aim.

The initial evidence from the Hymettos fields consists of fragments of pottery which we found on the surface of some of the abandoned, grass-covered, terraces high up the mountain side. Although such evidence has obvious limitations it is suggestive. Only ancient Greek and Roman fragments could be found, and the earliest were black-glazed sherds of the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. It is reasonable to suppose that sherds would have reached the fields when they were being cultivated and fertilized with manure from the settlements. But the evidence from surface finds is *faute de mieux*. Excavation is the essential criterion, with the aim of establishing the relation of these fields to a structure of Classical date, particularly to the site of a farm. Excavation was, of course, beyond the scope of our reconnaissance in 1955. Most of all we need to find the sites of farms, but a very detailed search will be required—for rural settlement in Classical times was chiefly in compact villages (whose sites are largely obscured by modern settlements). The problems which confront excavation are therefore not easy ones. The evidence from inscriptions may in due course prove helpful.<sup>1</sup>

I do not wish to minimize the difficulties which face such an inquiry into the rural economy of ancient Greece, from the viewpoint of field-archaeology. However, as regards the area here examined, it will be wise to evaluate the data in terms of probabilities. The problem is open to discussion, and the facts are here made available for the first time. There is a strong possibility—to say the least—that this intensive agriculture round Hymettos had its origin in the Classical world, when there was a populous capital city close to the spot, providing a considerable urban population which required large quantities of food. This conclusion was shared by Mr. T. J. Dunbabin in our discussions on the problem. However, field-systems are, in their nature, organic and living things which grow and suffer abandonment in their various parts. The occupation of some demes in this area continued to flourish up to early Byzantine times, and parts of these fields were probably in use then. But I strongly suspect that Classical hands shaped the origins of this widespread organized layout.

<sup>1</sup> For example, cf. *J.G.* ii, 2; 2492 (Editio Minor). This refers to a forty years' lease of land in the area of *Aixone*, but it cannot be related to any definite position. From the terms of the inscrip-

tion it is clear that this land would support vines, olives, and corn. I am grateful to Professor A. Andrewes for help in studying this inscription.

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## ANGLO-SAXON SITES IN LINCOLNSHIRE: UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL AND RECENT DISCOVERIES<sup>1</sup>

By F. H. THOMPSON, F.S.A.

### I. RUSKINGTON

FINDS from the interesting pagan Saxon cemetery at Ruskington, 3½ miles north of the better-known cemetery at Sleaford, have been published piecemeal<sup>2</sup> and, for the sake of completeness, it seems desirable to place on record certain objects acquired recently by Grantham Museum under the terms of the will of the late Dr. J. H. Gibson of Aldershot.<sup>3</sup> It appears that the latter was in the neighbourhood of Ruskington in 1917 and acquired the objects from a local farmer who had previously obtained them from the gravel-pit north of the village of Ruskington, where burials have been recorded from time to time.

No details of the actual discovery now survive and it is impossible to say from how many burials the objects were derived, but the group includes the following: two iron spear-heads with split socket, 17½ and 9½ in. long respectively; an iron shield-boss of the carinated type; part of an iron shield-handle; four complete and one incomplete iron knives; two annular iron brooches; three annular bronze brooches, one plain and two decorated (fig. 1, 2 and 3); and a bronze-gilt square-headed brooch with a disc on the bow (pl. xi a and fig. 1, 1). With these Saxon objects there was also most of a Romano-British pot (fig. 2, 1) of an interesting type and of so early a date that there is not the slightest possibility of its being a survival; if it came from the same site it must be regarded as an indication of an earlier Romano-British use of the ground.

The brooch is in good condition except for a break in the foot above the bottom lobe; there has been a recent attempt at repairing this both by means of soldering and also by the drilling of holes, presumably for the insertion of wire or the attachment of joining bars.

The late Mr. E. T. Leeds kindly examined a drawing and photograph of the brooch and wrote as follows:

It is the most extraordinary demonstration of an artificer aiming to reproduce a style which he was quite incapable of interpreting because he had not the history-sequence of forms and

<sup>1</sup> The material here dealt with came to the writer's notice while he was at the City and County Museum, Lincoln, and he would like to place on record his great debt of gratitude to the late Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, F.S.A., and Mr. J. N. L. Myres, F.S.A., who gave generous assistance by reporting on the brooches and pottery respectively; his sincere thanks are due also to Mrs. G. M. Crowfoot for her report on the textile fragment from Laceby and to Professor A. J. E. Cave for his report on the human remains from Stenigot.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xxvi (1946), 69, and pl. x; *Arch. Journ.* ciii (1946), 90, and pl. x; *ibid.* cviii (1951), 65–99 *passim*; E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches* (1949), p. 67 and no. 107A.

<sup>3</sup> Grantham Museum D/N 3217, A.S. 84 (Gibson Bequest); the writer is much indebted to Mr. C. P. Willard, A.L.A., Borough Librarian and Curator, for kindly lending the objects for examination and recording and for providing information about their previous history.

motifs to guide him. I can say at once the brooch falls into my group B8.<sup>1</sup> The decoration is of course quite imaginary and the maker evidently had not the faintest conception of what it should be. The clue to the brooch's relationship can be seen at once at the sides of the head-plates of nos. 108 and 109, which have a row of small masks of faces, like the upper part of the masks on the side of 104. The copyist, viewing the design vertically, sees it as a chain of links and so reproduces it as a guilloche with a dot in each loop. What model he had for the upper border I cannot fathom. I can only conceive that again he had something like 109 before him, but with a larger width to fill he produced a sort of quadruple guilloche by intertwining two of the lateral type. Once launched forth on this self-made style of decoration, he applied it to all the other surfaces, being unable to understand the dismembered zoomorphic ornament that the late brooches display. The shape of the foot-lobes he could learn from a group like B7. In rising to the addition of a large stud on the bow he may perhaps have seen a late example of B1 group, where the studs occur most commonly. The animal is delightfully active and, what is more, a complete beast. All of which makes it the harder to fathom the artificer's mind in his treatment of the other decoration. Lastly, I note the side-spurs above the bottom lobe. This I think is a late sign. One can trace its appearance in embryo on various brooches one would normally regard as late or late in their group.

For parallels to the animal on the stud, Mr. Leeds quoted a *bouton* from Marceuil, Pas de Calais (*Belgique Ancienne*, iv, 162, fig. 130), and remarked, 'It is not exactly like the Ruskington stud, because it is a triplex arrangement of animal-pieces, but I was struck by the similarity of the drawing. Other studs or buttons which gave me a similar impression are those from Bourogne (13 km. south of Belfort) figured in Ferdinand Scheurer et Anatole Lablotier, *Fouilles de la cimetière barbare de Bourogne*, pls. iv, ix, and xxi. All the above are late Frankish, particularly the Belgian piece. Is it possible that trade in the late 7th century was bringing over new models of zoomorphic style? That is the kind of thing we have to watch for.'

Of the two decorated annular brooches, the one (fig. 1, 3) is of the flat quoit type, elsewhere regarded by Mr. Leeds as characteristically Anglian.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the dot ornament around its inner and outer edges, it calls for no comment. The other (fig. 1, 2) has a faceted oval section and dot ornament on its upper surface. Where the point of the iron pin came, the brooch is broad and flattened and bears further dot ornament in the shape of two opposing biting heads. This is interesting as a further example of the survival in England of the Gallo-Roman style as known from Vermand.<sup>3</sup> Two identical brooches, also from Ruskington, appear in the collection of the City and County Museum, Lincoln.

The pot already referred to (fig. 2, 1) is of a sandy buff ware with a light brown surface, originally fumed black. The marked corrugation of the wall provides the clearest evidence for date and is best paralleled by Claudian pottery from Margidunum.<sup>4</sup> This feature is no doubt of Belgic ancestry<sup>5</sup> but is unlikely to date before A.D. 50 in Lincolnshire; it is, however, symptomatic of early Romano-British occupation in the Ruskington area.

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1913), p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. v.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Oswald, *The Commandant's House at Margidunum* (University College, Nottingham, 1948), pl. iv, 3, and *J.R.S.* xiii (1923), pl. x, 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum*, pp. 262, 263, discussing Form 229.

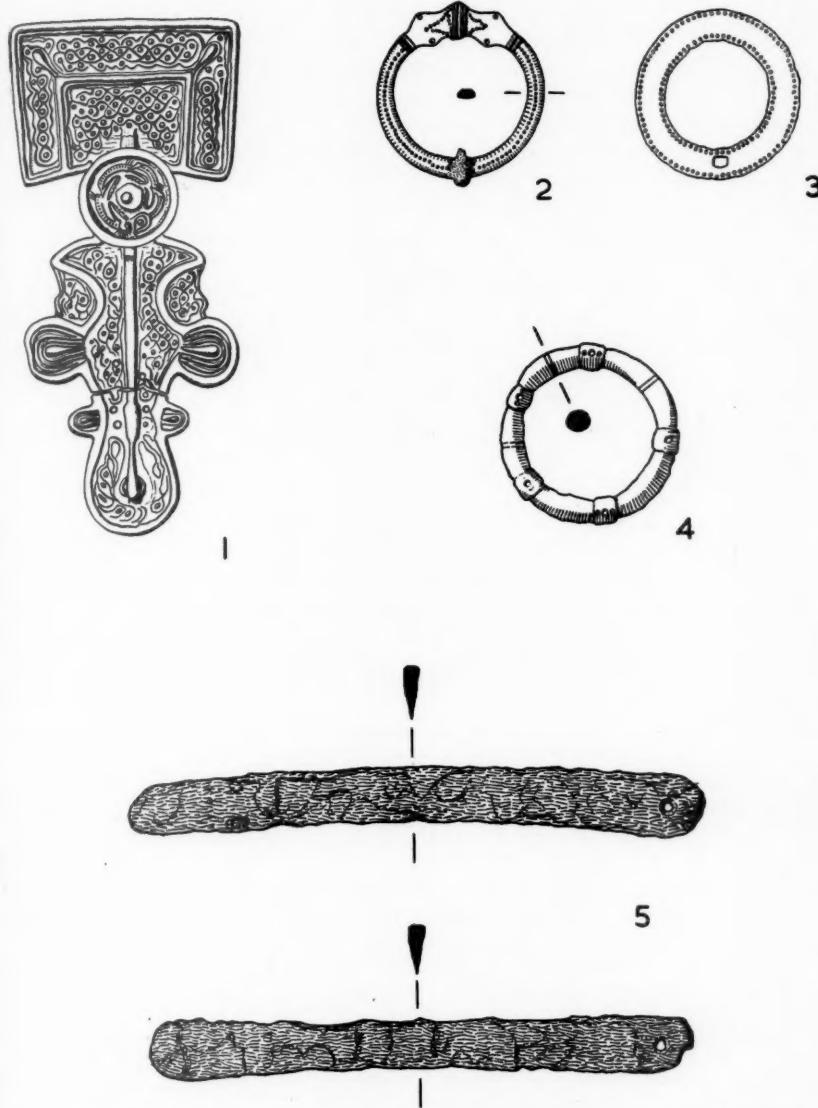


FIG. 1. 1-3, Ruskington, Lincs.: square-headed and annular Saxon brooches: 4, Laceby, Lincs.: knobbed ring from Saxon burial: 5, Stenigot, Lincs.: iron blades from Saxon barrow (1).

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x, 1-3.  
pp. 262,

## II. LACEBY

Under the terms of the will of the late Mr. L. W. Pye, formerly Borough Surveyor of Cleethorpes, a number of Anglo-Saxon relics, emanating from Laceby, 5 miles west-south-west of Grimsby, were bequeathed in 1954 to the City and County Museum, Lincoln, and so became available for study. They came originally from a sand-pit on the east side of the ancient trackway of Barton Street near the northern boundary of the parish (N.G.R. 54/204066) which was worked between the years 1934 and 1939, and were presented to Mr. Pye by the owner of the pit, Mr. W. Allison. The latter had already presented to Lincoln Museum the objects from an Anglo-Saxon burial found there in 1934, comprising a square-headed brooch,<sup>1</sup> knife, spear-head, beads, and accessory vessel<sup>2</sup> (L.M. 3.34 and 41.36) and the evidence was enough to suggest the presence of a cemetery.<sup>3</sup> Other periods are also represented from the site: Mr. Allison presented to the Museum the remains of a mammoth tusk, found in 1934 (L.M. 23.34). Mr. R. N. Hannigan recovered Bronze Age flints and sherds from the area in 1949, while a sherd of Early Iron Age character occurs in the Pye bequest (fig. 2, 4). At the present time the field in which the pit lay has been levelled and returned to the plough.

The objects presented by Mr. Pye (L.M. 90-101.54) consist of the following:

- (i) A square-headed brooch of bronze (pl. xi b) found with a burial in 1939; beneath the corroded remains of the iron pin, at the hinge, a scrap of textile was preserved. There were also, on both back and front of the brooch, impressions of other textiles, so sharp that it proved possible to determine the weave in each case.
- (ii) Three cruciform bronze brooches, two lacking a foot (pl. xi c), found together in 1937, in association with a knobbed bronze ring (fig. 1, 4); the five knobs are decorated with groups of punched dots, and the ring in general is not unlike one found at Sleaford, though this had only four knobs.<sup>4</sup>
- (iii) Fragment of an annular bronze brooch decorated with transverse notching, found alone in 1937.
- (iv) A thin bronze disc with broken edges, 1.3 in. in diameter, found in 1939 near (i).
- (v) Two iron spear-heads and a knife, found in 1938.
- (vi) Fragments of a double-edged bone comb with ring-and-dot ornament, found alone in 1935.
- (vii) A small spherical bead, found in 1939 near (i).
- (viii) Fragments of two accessory vessels (fig. 2, 2 and 3), found with a burial in 1937, and a small rim-sherd of dark grey ware with light surface and decoration of short vertical incisions on the outer edge of the rim (fig. 2, 4); it can probably be referred to the Early Iron Age, rather than the Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>5</sup>
- (ix) A stone with wedge-shaped sections found with (viii) in 1937, and perhaps originally used as a whetstone.

The generally late character of these (cf. reports following on the brooches and pottery) and the earlier finds suggests that the Anglian settlement of this north-east corner of Lincolnshire may only have taken place in the late sixth or early seventh

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*, 1949, no. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cviii, 89, and fig. 10, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xci, 154, 172.

<sup>4</sup> *Archæologia*, l, pl. xxv, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *P.P.S.* xix, fig. 12, 25.

century, that is in the closing stages of the occupation of the county (considered purely as a geographical area). Earlier settlers had no doubt penetrated farther inland in search of richer and more sheltered lands and one is tempted to think that only forestalment elsewhere can have impelled the families represented by these finds to found their homes on these bleak slopes of the Lincolnshire Wolds, exposed to the raw winds of the Humber Estuary and North Sea. As supporting evidence may be cited the inhumation burial in Riby Park,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north-west, which produced an accessory vessel dated by Mr. Myres to the seventh century.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The brooches*

The late Mr. E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., kindly agreed to examine the brooches and reported as follows:

(i) (pl. xi b) *Large, square-headed brooch (L.M. 90.54).*

*Head-plate*—three borders of almost unintelligible zoomorphic ornament in which dots within curved lines seem to indicate faces. At each top corner an ovate boss in good relief. The panel consists of triple three-sided elements; *outer*, a plain band; *middle*, a decorated band, composed of lateral bands of skein design, and an upper band of sloping strokes; *inner*, within a narrow line a wider band of transverse strokes.

*Bow*—broad, shallow; three flat bands and two deep grooves; the middle band perforated at the summit of the arc for attachment of a boss as on the Tuxford brooch, but there is no sign that any boss had ever been attached, since the edges of the perforation are perfectly clean.

*Foot-plate*—trilobed; with biting heads completely misunderstood; each lobe has an ovate boss in relief plainly imitating a cabochon jewel setting. From the bottom boss a bar runs straight up to meet the middle bar of the bow; the bar and the boss are enclosed by a narrow pitted band, but interrupted where narrow extensions of the lateral lobes, themselves framed by an outer line, impinge on the vertical bar, thus producing a cruciform effect.

*History.* The brooch adds one more member to the interesting family descended from the superb brooch of Kentish workmanship found at Herpes, Charente (*Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed Brooches*, B4). The prototype is fairly accurately copied at Sarre, Kent, Duston, Northants., and Linton Heath (grave 2), Cambs., except for minor additions or embellishments, though even at Tuxford, Notts., the original design is still present, particularly the panel of the head-plate with its borders of masks in full face or profile. The head-plate has there been enlarged by the addition of an upper band of full-face masks. The maker of the Laceby brooch seems to have had a faint idea of the original border of masks but appears to have followed the supplementary Tuxford band, and intended to add a boss on the bow, but evidently never did. On the foot-plate, though retaining the ovate cabochon settings, he has omitted to include the triangular settings as did the copyist at Badby, Northants. (*Corpus*, B4, 87) though on other brooches, far off the mark in other respects, as Woodstone, B4, 87 and Norton, B4, 90, they are still present.

The chief interest of the Laceby brooch is the indication of a cruciform pattern on the foot, suggesting some knowledge of the latest variety of Kentish square-headed brooches like Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, figs. 135-7 which went out of fashion before the close of the sixth century. The brooch can therefore be approximately dated to c. 600.

(ii) (pl. xi c, 2) *Cruciform brooch (L.M. 92.54)*

Group IV a with lappets but no excrescences on the knobs. The brooch and knobs, which

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cviii, 88, and fig. 9, 2.

are flat behind, have been cast in one piece. The head-plate and the panel on the head-plate are bordered with punched circles; also the lappets with a bull's-eye circlet at their middle. Lacking knowledge of the foot the nearest comparison is a brooch from Beeby, Leics., which has the same spreading head-plate, similar decoration, but has a vertical groove down the bow instead of a flat ridge; it is now in Leicester Museum. Cf. Darlington (Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv, 810, pl. CLVIII, 8). The shape of the lappets recurs again in Leicestershire, e.g. Saxby (V.C.H. Leics. i, pl. IV, no. 4, top row) now in Burton-on-Trent Museum. Driffield (Mortimer, *Forty Years Digging*, 278, pl. xcvi, fig. 768) ? at York. I suppose the form is originally an eagle-head, which gradually was stylized.

(iii) (pl. xi c, 3) *Cruciform brooch (L.M. 93.54).*

Imperfect, foot missing. Group V; knobs, cast in one piece with the body of the brooch, are in the form of masks, with upturned, eagle-headed moustaches; panel on head-plate bordered by punched dots; lappets well illustrate the difficulty of interpretation noted above; in outline they much resemble those on 92.54 but they remind me of the curious little curly-tailed animal that appears on more elaborate examples of this same florid type, e.g. Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham (Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. xxii b). The Laceby piece is the early stage of the florid type. I know only one other example, from Haslingfield, Cambs. (Ashmolean, Evans Collection). This has lost its side-knobs but has an outrageous expression of the design of the knobs used to terminate the foot (Leeds, *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, fig. 13, top row, r.). It illustrates how at this period the brooch-designers were fumbling to give the lappet real meaning again which it had begun to lose by earlier stylization. Other moderately early pieces are Sporle, Norfolk (J. Y. Akerman, *Relics of Pagan Saxondom*, 1855, 79, pl. XL); Upton Snodsbury, Worcs. (V.C.H. Worcs. i, col. pl. facing p. 228, no. 6); and a horrible piece from Islip, Northants., which I published in *Antiq. Journ.* xxi, 234-6, pl. LI.

(iv) (pl. xi c, 1) *Cruciform brooch (L.M. 91.54).*

Group V; originally gilt; axe-shaped excrescences on three knobs and finial of foot covered by silver plates. It is unquestionably, I believe, one of a group of brooches produced in whatever workshop was responsible for the later Sleaford brooches from grave 143 (B.M. Guide, 1923, fig. 18); grave 95 (Aberg, Tab. I, group V, no. 235) and grave 116 (Aberg, *ibid.*, no. 236). The Laceby brooch comes between Sleaford 95 and Sleaford 116. The Laceby knobs are like Sleaford 95, but with the axe-head excrescences more pronounced; similarly with the foot which in place of a triangular expansion below the animal snout on the foot, has the rounded form of Sleaford 116. In fact Laceby is an immediate forerunner of Sleaford 116, which has the same elongated panel on the head-plate, but has discarded the neat cross-bars at the base of the knobs, bringing the knobs directly into contact with the framing of the panel. Sleaford 116 has a long furrowed ridge on its bow; very clumsy drooping-head lappets; a zoomorphic panel below the bow; and a hammer-shaped excrescence on the foot. The four brooches are one of the best object-lessons in an Anglian school's design that I have come across.<sup>1</sup> Laceby is almost an inch longer than Sleaford 116, because the animal-head has been coalesced with the finial so far as to place the eyes on the top of the finial. Sleaford 116 also had plated excrescences, since you will note on my very rough tracing that the transversely barred nasal ridge stops short just where the hammer appendage begins; traces can be seen on the photograph.

<sup>1</sup> Although, as Mr. Leeds pointed out in a later letter, the six brooches in his group Vc include one from Exning, Suffolk (Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, pl. xxix, 2) which, if the neat-

ness of the grouping of the others (Sleaford—; Market Overton—1, Laceby—1) is not to be spoilt, must be ascribed to a cause such as marriage.

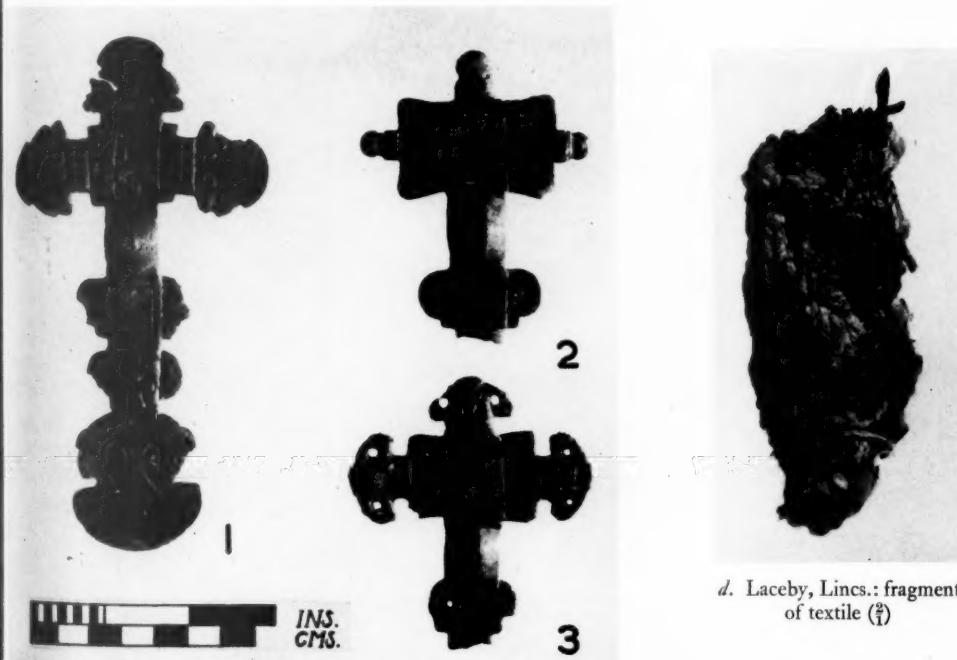


a. Ruskington, Lincs.



b. Laceby, Lincs.

Square-headed Saxon brooches (1)



c. Laceby, Lincs.: cruciform Saxon brooches (1)

d. Laceby, Lincs.: fragment of textile (2)



a. Hall Hill, West Keal, Lincs.: urns from Saxon cremation cemetery (1)



b. Stenigot, Lincs.: objects from Saxon barrow (1)

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*The pottery*

Of the two accessory vessels already referred to, the first (fig. 2, 2) is a simple, crudely made bowl of dark brown ware with occasional grits; the outer surface is brown and the inner black. The second (fig. 2, 3), an urn of similar ware, bears

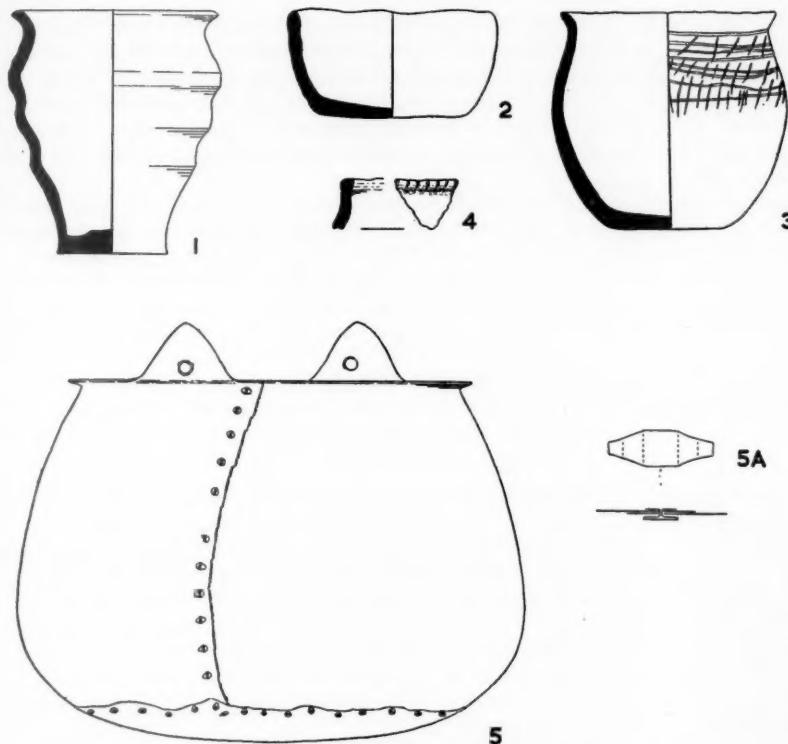


FIG. 2. 1, Ruskington, Lincs.: Romano-British pot: 2-4, Laceby, Lincs.: Saxon accessory vessels and Iron Age rim-sherd: 5, 5A, Stenigot, Lincs.: bronze cauldron (restored) from Saxon barrow and details of riveting (scale ¼, except 5A, 1).

on the neck and upper part of the body a decoration of roughly scored horizontal lines on which had been superimposed three rows of short oblique strokes. This latter pot, in Mr. Myres's view,<sup>1</sup> is late and appears to belong to the type of beaker-like vessels, illustrated on figs. 9 and 10 of his *Anglo-Saxon Pottery of Lincolnshire*.<sup>2</sup> The broken-line decoration is clearly related to that on the earlier pot from Laceby (*ibid.*, fig. 10, 1) but the form is more akin to that of some of the plain Ruskington pots (*ibid.*, fig. 10, 6 and 7). He would give it a mid- to late sixth- or even seventh-century date; the simple bowl can no doubt be referred to a similar period.

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the writer, after seeing drawings of the pottery.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cviii, 86-90.

*The textile and impressions*

Mrs. G. M. Crowfoot has kindly examined the fragment of textile and the impressions on back and front of the square-headed brooch and reports as follows:

(i) (pl. xi d) *Fragment of braid, with centre in warp pattern weave and two tablet twists on either side*

When Mr. L. W. Pye was cleaning the brooch, this braid was found 'jammed tightly against the pivot'. It shows staining due to this position, rust red from the iron pin and green from the bronze of the brooch, and it has left a fine impression on the back of the brooch close to the pivot; the tablet twists and sewing threads show clearly, and some of the thread itself is still present. There is also a confused impression which may be from another piece of the same braid, to the left of the pivot. The braid could have been used as an edging on a twill cloak (see below, no. ii).

*Size*—preserved length, 3 cm. Width 1.1 cm. The full width of the braid is only preserved for part of its length. At one end the warps are broken off short, at the other they are held together by a sewing thread stitching round them. When this thread was removed no trace of weave was found, only loose warps; this then may be the end of the braid. Down the centre of the braid, where there seems to be a break, a double thread has been used for repair; it passes round several threads on the front, floats down the back and then stitches round several threads again.

*Material*—linen (determined by the Shirley Institute).

*Spinning*—warp and weft, Z-spun, S-ply, variable, especially in the tablet twists.

Repair threads, Z-spun, S-ply,

Sewing thread—Z-spun.

*Weave*—the centre pattern weave (measuring c. 7 mm.) has 24 warps, the two tablet twists on either side (c. 2 mm. each) 4 warps each, total 40 warps.

On the face the plain weave can be seen with warps predominating, on the back are floating threads; where both are sufficiently preserved for a count to be taken the number of warps and floats agree. This proves that the warp was set up double, probably in at least two colours, one thread of each pair being used to make the pattern on the front while the other floated at the back. Thus 12 warps are visible on the 7 mm. wide surface, while the weft count is c. 4.5×5 threads per 5 mm., giving a proportion of c. 15-16×9-10 threads per cm.

No change of colour can now be seen, so the pattern could not be traced on the front, though it could partly be made out by studying the floats on the back. These formed two meeting triangles, which must have been of one colour on the front and the other at the back, but the diamond-shaped area between, of which little remains clear, seems to have had no long floats, and this would indicate some small pattern, checks or the like. When experimenting I found that if these areas were regular diamonds the floats were longer than those found, and a rectangular form seemed more probable (see drawing, fig. 3). It must be remembered that the only certain portions of the design are the triangles. In this kind of weave it is possible to vary the design by transposing the colours, or the design itself can be changed, within the compass of the small number of warps.

An experiment sample was woven with four tablets for the borders and the centre warps set up on two laze rods in pairs and picked up with the fingers to form the pattern, but for a longer piece it would obviously have

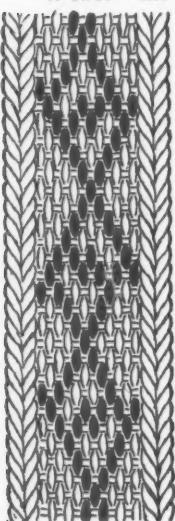


FIG. 3. Laceby,  
Lincs: reconstruction  
of pattern on  
braid fragment.

been more practical to use a rod heddle and shed rod, as is usual in Bedouin warp pattern weave. The braid could also have been woven wholly on tablets, with six 2-hole tablets, with two threads in each hole, turned back and forward to give the plain weave of the centre; or it is possible that two holes were made at each corner, to keep the threads separate, as has been done in Scandinavian peasant weaves (see M. Hald, *Brikvaevning*, Copenhagen, 1932, fig. 36).

This is the first time that this warp pattern weave has been found on such an early Saxon braid. There is, however, a tiny fragment of fine silk braid in this weave among the relics of St. Cuthbert, which is to be published in the forthcoming catalogue. Here also tablet twists are used in the borders while the centre is in a warp weave with floats at the back; it is much destroyed, but there are traces of a diamond pattern.

This new discovery from Laceby is of value in establishing that this technique was already known to the Saxons in the sixth century, and gives support to the view that the St. Cuthbert braid is probably not a foreign import, but a Saxon use of the new and beautiful foreign silk.

There were also traces of two different textiles, one on the back and one on the front of the brooch, so sharp and hard that it was possible to take plasticine impressions giving the appearance and correct spinning directions of the originals.

#### (ii) Impressions of twill

Back of brooch, to left of pivot, near the braid impressions.

*Spinning*—Z-spun one system, S the other, regular spinning.

*Weave*—twill, probably  $2 \times 2$ , but it seems slightly irregular and may be part of a diamond. Count of threads in the Z system, c. 7 to 5 mm.

#### (iii) Impressions of plain weave

Front of brooch, in patches all over the surface. On the right edge, below the cross, a small fragment of actual weave is present.

*Spinning*—Z warp and weft; very clear impressions of rather uneven thread, splitting, or perhaps plied Z. The appearance suggests that it may have been linen.

*Weave*—plain. Count c.  $14 \times 14$  per cm. (In one system the count could only be taken over 5 mm. i.e. 7 per 5 mm.)

### III. HALL HILL, WEST KEAL

Hall Hill, in the parish of West Keal, lies at the southern end of the Lincolnshire Wolds and forms a bold spur dominating the flat Fenland immediately to the south. Its summit is composed of outcropping Spilsby sandstone, which rapidly breaks down to form a fine sandy soil eminently suited to primitive occupation (though of little value to modern agriculture). Thus it is that the area yields traces of human settlement in every archaeological period from the Mesolithic to the pagan Saxon.<sup>1</sup> The evidence for the last period, as recorded by Mr. C. W. Phillips, F.S.A., consisted of potsherds with stamped decoration and glass beads, but these were surface finds and insufficient to demonstrate the precise nature of the occupation.

In the spring of 1954 a visit was made to the site by Mr. G. V. Taylor, a farmer and keen amateur archaeologist, who is making a study of the prehistoric occupation of the Salmonby district. His intention was primarily to secure microliths for comparative purposes but, on arrival at Hall Hill, he found that the farmer had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Arch. Journ.* xci, 170-1; for the Mesolithic finds in particular cf. J. G. D. Clark, *The Mesolithic Age in Britain*.

deep-ploughed the land with the intention of sowing a grass crop. This, together with some movement of the light soil by wind or gravity, had exposed a considerable quantity of pagan Saxon pottery, much of which had been broken and scattered by the plough; in a few cases, however, actual urns containing cremated bone could be distinguished and, though damaged, were capable of restoration. Mr. Taylor retrieved these, together with a large quantity of individual sherds bearing stamped decoration (fig. 4), and submitted them to the writer at the Lincoln Museum. Two of the urns (pl. xii a and fig. 4, 2 and 4) were restored completely at the Institute of Archaeology and two large pieces of a third (fig. 4, 3),<sup>1</sup> while a fourth (fig. 4, 1) is now the property of Mr. J. Davies of Bradford. Mr. Taylor estimated, on the basis of this and subsequent visits, that sherds were scattered over an area of approximately 2 acres on the western tip of Hall Hill (N.G.R. 53/356640) but thinks that the actual cemetery (for such it seems to be) is perhaps half this size. It may thus rival in size the cemetery at South Elkington excavated in recent years by the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee,<sup>2</sup> from which probably only a quarter of the urns have been extracted.<sup>3</sup>

It has been thought best to place the new discovery on record immediately and the opportunity has also been taken of describing a number of sherds found on the site in 1930 and now in Lincoln Museum.

*The pottery*

Fig. 4, 1. Grey-brown ware with polished black surface. Decoration of three horizontal lines beneath which are groups of two-line chevrons. An Anglo-Frisian type common at South Elkington and probably nearest to no. 201 from there.<sup>4</sup>

Fig. 4, 2, and pl. xii a, 1 (L.M. 14.54). Dark brown ware with polished surface. Two horizontal lines on neck containing stamps in groups of two; short vertical bosses beneath, flanked on each side by pairs of slightly curved lines containing vertical rows of stamps (five different stamps are employed). This is essentially a shoulder-boss urn of Anglian type, though the presence of stamped decoration may suggest the emergence of latent Saxon influence; it could represent an intermediate though early stage in the development of the panel style (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, 431-2) since the emphasis is on the bosses rather than the space between. A date towards the end of the fifth century may be appropriate. A number of fragments of a very similar, if not identical, urn were included among the pottery presented by Mr. Taylor to the Museum.

Fig. 4, 3 (L.M. 15.54). Two fragments sufficiently large to establish a sub-biconical profile; the ware ranges from dark brown to black and has a smooth, polished surface. Decoration of four pairs of horizontal lines enclosing three rows of different stamps, beneath which lies a zone composed of groups of vertical and diagonal lines, with stamps in the intervening spaces. The stamps are similar to three of those on the preceding urn, but are not actually identical; Mr. Myres considers that the pot itself is late. The horizontal decoration is similar to that on an urn from Lackford, Suffolk,<sup>5</sup> which Mr. Lethbridge thought late. A mid-sixth-century date may be indicated.

Fig. 4, 4, and pl. xii a, 2 (L.M. 13.54). Grey ware with polished surface ranging from

<sup>1</sup> L.M. 13-15.54 (presented by Mr. Taylor).

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cviii, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Information from Messrs. F. T. Baker, F.S.A., and G. Webster, F.S.A.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cviii, 34, fig. 5.

<sup>5</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk* (C.A.S. 4to Pubns., n.s. vi), fig. 27, 49, 20.

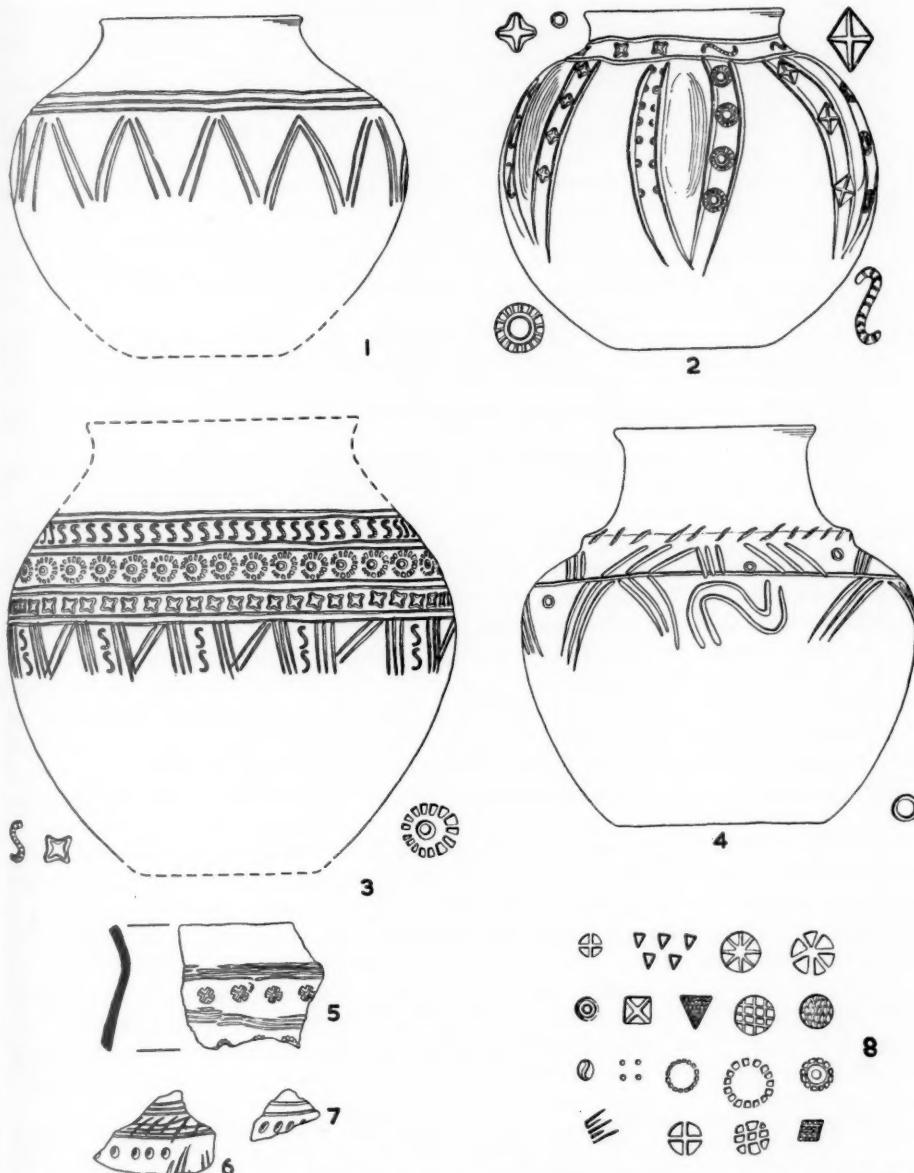


FIG. 4. Hall Hill, West Keal, Lincs.: pottery from Saxon cremation cemetery (scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ , except 8,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

brown to grey in tone. Raised and slashed collar, beneath which is a zone of short vertical and diagonal lines arranged in groups of three; this is separated by a single horizontal line from a lower zone of chevrons, between two pairs of which appear schematic zoomorphic figures; occasional stamps in the field. Mr. Myres compares the beast with those appearing on certain pots from Lackford and would place the West Keal example last in the typology, preceded by Lackford 48, 2485 (fig. 8) and 48, 2473 (fig. 23), in that order; he has noted a further example from one of the Frisian terps. The beast itself he interprets as a dragon, designed to protect the urn against disturbance by evil men or spirits, the dragon being the guardian or protector of anything precious, as in Beowulf.

In form, this vessel is comparable to a shoulder-boss urn from Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.,<sup>1</sup> which is dated to the first half of the sixth century, despite its early-looking slashed collar; a similar or even slightly later date would no doubt be applicable to the West Keal pot in view of the degeneration of the animal motif.

Fig. 4, 5 (found 1930). Rim of urn in sandy black ware with polished surface; decoration of horizontal rows (at least two) of stamps set between carelessly executed close-set lines. Mr. Myres thinks it late in date.<sup>2</sup>

Fig. 4, 6, 7. Two sherds showing line-and-dot decoration characteristic of Anglo-Frisian pottery of c. A.D. 500.<sup>3</sup>

Fig. 4, 8. Group of stamps (the last three found in 1930) appearing on sherds otherwise too small for illustration.

#### Discussion

The new cemetery lies only 15 miles south of that at South Elkington and, on *prima facie* grounds, it might be supposed that the two groups of people using these burial grounds had, broadly speaking, a common racial origin. The evidence of the pottery is as yet too limited to allow the formation of any definitive conclusions but, for what it is worth, the Anglian or Anglo-Frisian element predominant at South Elkington is well represented at West Keal and the Saxon element, as represented by the use of stamped ornament, is clearly there also. The period during which the cemetery was in use cannot yet be ascertained either but it seems likely that burials were being deposited before A.D. 500 and subsequently throughout the sixth century.

The most interesting point about West Keal is its position midway between the northern and southern groups of Lincolnshire cemeteries with their respective connexions with the Humber region and Middle Anglia. To which group, if either, it might be assigned, cannot yet be said but the problem may serve as a spur to future excavations.<sup>4</sup>

#### IV. STENIGOT

In July 1954 the breaking up of grassland at Stenigot, six miles south-west of Louth, brought to light various objects of the pagan Saxon period, with which were

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cviii, 74, and fig. 2, 4.

<sup>2</sup> He assigns it to a group of beaker-like vessels with slightly everted rims and profuse stamping which belong to the later part of the pagan period (cf. *Arch. Journ.* cviii, 86, figs. 9 and 10).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 62 and 70-72.

<sup>4</sup> There is always the possibility to be borne in mind that its position at the southern end of the isolated Wolds may mean that its closest links are across the Wash with the communities of East Anglia.

associated human bones. The actual scene of the discovery (N.G.R. 53/253822) was a spur of ground projecting, at a height of 350 ft. above sea-level, from the steep northern slope of a small valley through which runs a tributary of the river Bain, itself a main highway through the Lincolnshire Wolds in the prehistoric period. The finds themselves were submitted for identification and subsequently presented to the City and County Museum, Lincoln, by Mr. Peter K. Dennis of Stenigot House, the owner of the land.

The actual operation which revealed the finds was ploughing to the unusual depth of 15 in. The ploughman collected the objects as they were turned up and then dug by hand to see if more could be found. Finally, the field was disc-harrowed and any possibility of detailed examination of the site, particularly its stratification, rendered extremely difficult. However, conversation with persons familiar with the ground and in particular Mr. G. V. Taylor, to whom the writer's thanks are due for a careful investigation of the site and the recovery of certain small objects which had been overlooked, revealed that there had originally been a slight rise in the surface of the field at this point. In Mr. Taylor's view, there had once existed here a small, low, round barrow, standing on an outcrop of red chalk and composed of chalk rubble covering the burial, capped by soil. Examination of the human remains (see Appendix B) disclosed the presence of three individuals, all adults, of whom two were male and the third uncertain. The finds, other than the human bones, consisted of the following: the remains of a bronze cauldron with triangular ears (pl. XIII a, b) and fragments of its iron handle (pl. XII b, 5), an iron dirk or *langsax*,<sup>1</sup> its bronze scabbard-chape and a fragment of bronze scabbard-binding (pl. XII b, 1 and 4), a small tongue-shaped bronze plate of very thin sheeting and two of the pins by which it had originally been attached (pl. XII b, 7), an iron strike-a-light (pl. XII b, 2), a small iron knife (pl. XII b, 3), and two iron blades with a knife-section and a perforation at one end (pl. XII b, 6 and fig. 1, 5), together with fragments of a third (not illustrated); finally, there were numerous fragments of iron plate showing curvature (not illustrated), some with an overlapping joint across which ran a thin iron bar as if for strengthening.

Several of the objects establish beyond question the pagan Saxon date of the barrow, principally the cauldron with triangular ears which will be discussed in detail later. The others are the iron strike-a-light, the small iron knife, and the dirk. None provides a close date with the possible exception of the last, which appears elsewhere in latish contexts, viz. in the Winchester burial, dated sixth century<sup>2</sup> and in grave 36 at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire, dated seventh century.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the Shudy Camps dirk has a scabbard-chape very similar to the example now shown. A seventh-century date may well be correct for the Stenigot group as a whole.

The other objects are less familiar and consequently less helpful in dating the burial, though intrinsically they are of some interest. The thin bronze plate is so fragile that it can scarcely have been other than ornamental; the slender bronze pins by which it was secured were  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, suggesting attachment to wood of at least

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* (1915), iv, p. 230, and pl. xxviii, 6. <sup>2</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xi, 4, and fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *C.A.S. 4to Pubns.*, n.s., v, fig. 7, 1.

1 in. in thickness. More puzzling are the iron blades with one perforated end. Their pronounced cutting-edges certainly suggest use as knives in some specialized way and in fact one bears evidence of having undergone considerable sharpening. In each case the perforations are bevelled on one side suggesting that they may have served to take a countersunk rivet for the attachment of a folding handle, rather than as a means of suspension. It has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that they may have been early forms of razor with a folding wooden handle, though this accords ill with the accepted idea of Saxon coiffure! The morphology of the razor in historic times is little known and it may well be that ordinary knives with carefully sharpened edges were largely used. Such early examples as survive seem to be of the post-medieval period and have the distinctive feature of the 'safe edge' between blade and handle by which the implement could be held.<sup>2</sup> This was perhaps in itself a technical advance, in which case the Stenigot examples may represent an earlier stage. Finally, the pieces of iron plate may be the remains of some such vessel as a pail<sup>3</sup> but are too fragmentary to permit reconstruction.

The unusual nature of some of the objects is matched by certain peculiarities about the bronze cauldron. This belongs to a type met with fairly commonly in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries where, in contrast with more ornate vessels, it seems to represent the deceased person's cooking-pot; the Stenigot cauldron is in fact heavily sooted on the exterior as if from prolonged exposure over an open fire. They were not, however, local products but a Frankish type manufactured in the Rhineland<sup>4</sup> whence they were also exported to Norway<sup>5</sup> and Switzerland.<sup>6</sup>

Their distribution in this country (fig. 5; the data on which the map is based are given as an appendix to this note) emphasizes their role as objects of trade, since they are spread widely over both Anglian and Saxon areas and appear frequently on sites with easy access to the North Sea and so to the mouth of the Rhine (e.g. East Anglia and the river Thames). The outlying group of three cauldrons, found in a hoard of other sub-Roman or dark-age bronze vessels at Halkyn Mountain, Flintshire, suggests an extension of this trade along the Channel and into the Irish Sea; there was, no doubt, a brisk demand for such containers in the Celtic west, with its chronic shortage of domestic pottery.<sup>7</sup> These are the only examples not found in a funerary context, which, with their appearance in a hoard, suggests that the enterprising trader responsible for shipping them to this distant

<sup>1</sup> By the late Mr. E. T. Leeds, to whom the writer is indebted for helpful comments on the material as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Mr. N. C. Cook, F.S.A., who kindly compared the blades under discussion with razors in the Guildhall Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Analogous to that from a well at Pagan's Hill, Chew Stoke, Somerset, dated seventh–eighth century (a reference kindly supplied by Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.).

<sup>4</sup> *Aspects of Archaeology*, 1951, p. 182 (C. F. C. Hawkes, *Bronze-Workers, Cauldrons and Bucket-Animals in Iron Age and Roman Britain*).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. also *Universitets Oldsaksamlingens Skrifter. I: Listas Fornalder*, figs. 40 and 42 (reference supplied by the late Mr. E. T. Leeds).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the cauldron with imperforate lugs from Martigny, Canton du Valais, now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire at Geneva (*Ganava*, xi, 1933, p. 64, pl. v, 3 and fig. 4, 8). The writer is indebted to Dr. Edmond Sollberger, Keeper of Archaeology at Geneva, for the publication reference and for confirming the absence of perforations, which suggests that the article may still have been on a trade-route.

<sup>7</sup> Hawkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 and 189.

shore may not have been successful in actually distributing them. A parallel instance of Anglo-Saxon semi-luxury objects appearing on a Celtic site is provided

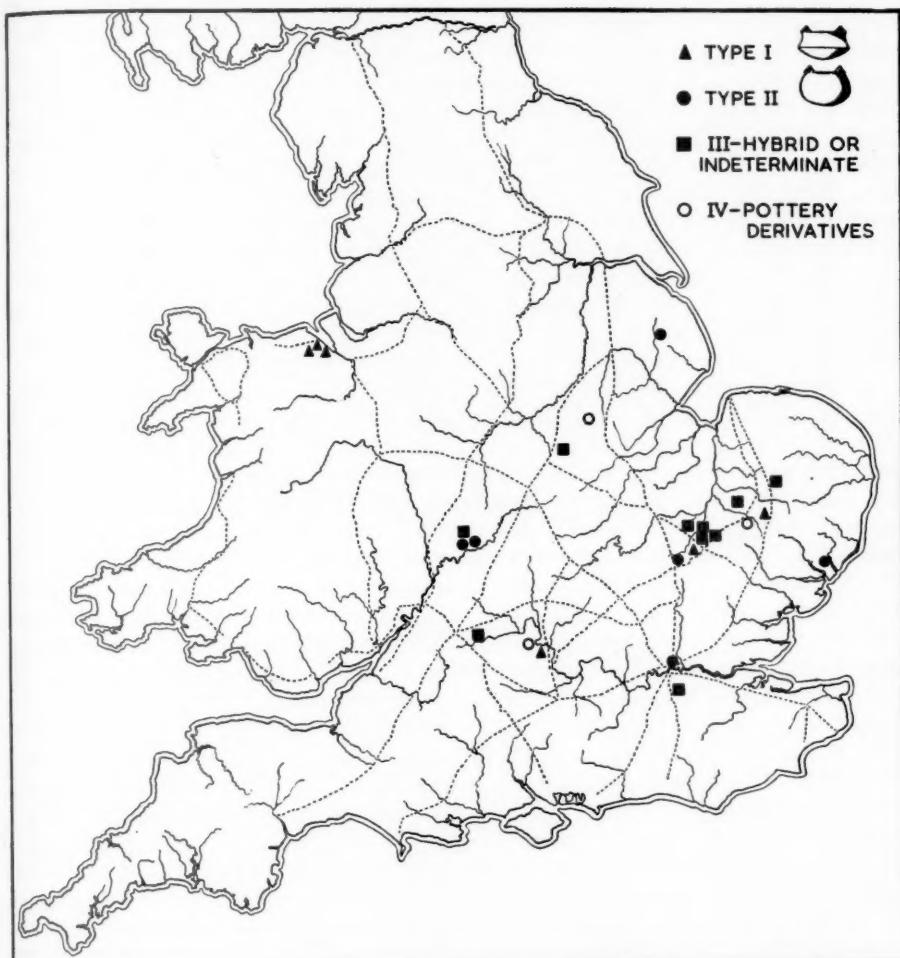


FIG. 5. Distribution of Anglo-Saxon bronze cauldrons with triangular lugs, and pottery derivatives in England and Wales.

by the recent discovery of Merovingian glass during the excavation of the hill-fort at Dinas Powis, Glamorgan, by Mr. A. L. Alcock in 1954.

Professor Hawkes would trace the development of this cauldron back to a probable prototype of the second century A.D. in the Roman Rhineland,<sup>1</sup> the cylin-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 46c.

drical upper portion of which obtained a concave profile by the third century<sup>1</sup> and which reached its fully developed form by the substitution of triangular ears for ring-handles shortly afterwards. This was to become the regular type of the fourth century and appears subsequently, as already noted, as a Frankish export. But it would be wrong to assume that the concave profile was a consistent feature on this type of cauldron as known from Anglo-Saxon sites in this country. In certain cases they are only fragmentary so that it is difficult to be certain about that original shape, but complete cauldrons exhibit a range of form varying from the normal concave wall rising from a carination, as at Long Wittenham<sup>2</sup> and Halkyn Mountain, to others where the carination is softened into a rounded base, though some trace of the concave profile above remains, as at Little Wilbraham, Holywell Row, and Fairford, and finally to those of completely globular shape as at Bidford-on-Avon and the river Thames at London (though the latter seems to preserve some trace of the carination in the form of a basal angle). It is possible that this variation may represent a typological degeneration from the original concave profile, in which case the globular examples may well be the latest in the series.

At what point the Stenigot cauldron stands is, in view of its mutilated condition, somewhat difficult to say but certain technical details in its construction afford some aid. The normal method of fabrication with this type of cauldron seems to have been to beat up a single piece of bronze sheet, already cut with triangular ears, into the required shape, so that it was essentially of one-piece construction. The original thickness of the sheet can generally be discerned at the rim, but the hammering reduces this at the base to paper thinness, of the order of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mm. or less. The Stenigot cauldron, however, seems to be unique in that it is of two-piece construction, composed of a single sheet, riveted down one side, forming the upper part of the vessel, to the lower edge of which was riveted an approximately circular sheet to form the base. This reconstruction is based on the fact that the gap in the wall of the largest fragment (pl. XIII *a*) is filled by a smaller fragment showing the riveted seam (pl. XIII *b*, 1), while the base fragment (pl. XIII *b*, 2) can be fitted to the lower edge of the large piece. The whole technique is decidedly awkward and it evidently proved necessary to make vertical cuts at intervals in the lower edge of the upper sheet in order to fit it neatly to the base piece. The final effect must have been somewhat as shown in the reconstructed drawing (fig. 2, 5); the weak point was evidently where the wall turned sharply inwards towards the base, and it was here that a break must have occurred when the cauldron was subjected to prolonged strain. In general shape, then, it conforms more to the globular type, as might be expected, if there is any validity in the typological sequence, from the generally late character of the burial.

The rivets themselves are of a rather unusual type. They are composed of small bronze strips with tapering ends (fig. 2, 5 *A*) which are folded, as indicated by the broken lines, to form a square head. The tapered ends are then brought together and passed, from inside to outside, through slots in the two edges to be joined; finally, they are bent back in the manner of the modern paper-fastener (fig. 2, 5 *A*).

<sup>1</sup> Hawkes, *op. cit.*, fig. 47c.

<sup>2</sup> For this and the subsequent sites, reference

should be made to the appendix at the end of this paper.

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*a, b.* Stenigot, Lincs.: fragments of bronze cauldron from Saxon barrow

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and pl. XIII b, 2). Technically the method has a makeshift look but was no doubt adequate to make a tight joint in view of the thinness of the component sheets.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX A

*List of Sites in England and Wales producing Bronze Cauldrons with Triangular Ears*

In this list, on which the distribution map (fig. 5) is based, an attempt has been made to group the cauldrons into two main types, I with concave wall rising from a carination, and II with convex wall giving a globular profile; as suggested above, the former may be earlier than the latter. Under III are listed those of indeterminate or hybrid type and under IV the pottery derivatives. Under types I and II have been classified only those cauldrons about the profiles of which there is certainty; thus the vessels from Holywell Row, Fairford, and Little Wilbraham have been placed under III since there is a suspicion of concavity about the walls, although in all other respects they conform to the globular type, II.

While it is not claimed that this is an exhaustive list, every effort has been made to make it as complete as possible and the author tenders his sincere thanks to those museum curators and others who have responded to his inquiries in this connexion, and especially to Mr. D. M. Wilson for notes on the specimens in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Site	Description	Museum or Publication
<b>I. CONCAVE WALL RISING FROM CARINATION</b>		
Long Wittenham, Berks.	Grave 93: at feet of skeleton of boy. Also present, iron spear-head, knife, and bronze-bound beaker, probably Frankish.	<i>Archaeologia</i> , xxxviii, 345, and 351, pl. xviii, 2; <i>B.M. Guide to A.-S. Antiquities</i> (1923), pp. 68-70, and fig. 77.
Sawston, nr. Cambridge	Barrow with inhumation burial: cauldron at feet, associated with bronze bowl with bossed rim; sword and shield-boss also present.	<i>Archaeologia</i> , xviii, 340-3, pl. xxv, 4. [The cauldron lacks a base but clearly belongs to this group.]
Halkyn Mountain, Flints.	Three found, with other sub-Roman or dark-age vessels (? a merchant's hoard).	<i>Archaeologia</i> , xiv, 275, pl. xlix, (f); Ellis Davies, <i>Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Flintshire</i> (1949), p. 176.
Ixworth Thorpe, Suffolk <sup>2</sup>	Found with iron sword, shield-boss, and spear-head.	Ipswich Museum: I.C.M. 1951-59.
<b>II. CONVEX WALL AND GLOBULAR PROFILE</b>		
Barrington, Cambs.	..	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.
Stenigot, Lincs.	Described in this paper.	..

<sup>1</sup> For a similar method of riveting cf. the cauldron in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, found in a late second-century deposit in the excavation of the Deanery Field barrack-blocks (*A.A.A.* xviii, 3-4, 142, fig. 8 d) and the secondary repairs on the Romano-British cauldron from Carlingwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire (*P.S.A.S.* lxxxvii, 28, and fig. 7).

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. S. E. West.

Site	Description	Museum or Publication
River Thames, London	..	London Museum A. 10121; London Museum Catalogue no. 6; <i>London and the Saxons</i> , p. 147, and fig. 25.
Brightwell Heath, Suffolk <sup>1</sup>	From barrow, associated with (?) draughtsman, beads, bone disc, ivory bracelet, and bone comb.	Ipswich Museum: I.C.M.: R. 1920-20; <i>Ipswich Field Club Journ.</i> vi (1921), 11-13, and fig. 24.
Bidford-on-Avon, Warws.	(a) One found with saucer-brooch, possibly to be associated with child's skeleton. (b) Another found at head of male burial in grave 182.	<i>Archaeologia</i> , lxxiii, 100-1, pl. LXXIII, fig. 5.
III. HYBRID OR INDETERMINATE		
Girton College, Cambridge	Grave 56.	E. J. Hollingworth and M. M. O'Reilly, <i>The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Girton College, Cambridge</i> , p. 17.
Little Wilbraham, Cambs.	Three: two contained ? cremations, one accompanied by bone comb.	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 48, 1327, 1380, and 1457; R. C. Neville, <i>Saxon Obsquies</i> (1852), p. 23, and pl. 16.
Fairford, Glos.	Two: one found 1844-5, the other 1851 with spear-head, strips of copper, knife, shears, and shield-boss.	W. M. Wylie, <i>Fairford Graves</i> (1852), pp. 15 and 19, and pl. viii, fig. 1; C. Roach Smith, <i>Collectanea Antiqua</i> , ii, 160.
Queniborough, Leics.	Found with bronze bowl with bossed flange, bucket, pottery, shield-bosses, and buckles.	John Nichols, <i>History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester</i> , vol. i, pt. ii, p. 377, and pl. L, 2.
Illington, Norfolk	..	Norwich Museum, 220-950.
Holywell Row, Suffolk	Grave 11, from burial of child, associated with bronze bowl with bossed flange, square-headed brooch, etc. Probably seventh century.	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Z. 7106J; <i>C.A.S. 4to Pubns.</i> , n.s. iii, 8, and fig. 3, 1.
Croydon, Surrey	..	Baldwin Brown, <i>The Arts in Early England</i> (1915), iv, p. 472, and pl. cxvii, 3.
Bidford-on-Avon, Warws.	Fragments.	<i>Archaeologia</i> , lxxiii, 100-1.

<sup>1</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. S. E. West.

Site	Description	Museum or Publication
<b>IV. POTTERY DERIVATIVES</b>		
Sutton Courtenay, Berks.	..	<i>Archaeologia</i> , xcii, 90, and fig. 10.
Harston, Leics.	..	<i>Trans. Leics. Arch. Soc.</i> xxviii, 50, fig. 3.
Lackford, Suffolk	..	<i>C.A.S. 4to Pubns.</i> , n.s. vi, 20, and fig. 23.

## APPENDIX B

*Report on Skeletal Remains by Professor A. J. E. Cave*

*Nature of remains.* An inextricably mixed mass of comminuted human bones, showing old and recent post-mortem fracture, with practically no single long bone entire. Skull remains particularly fragmentary and imperfect. No criterion available for the mutual allocation of individual bones (even after restoration) and no possibility of determining with certainty the sex and age of the individuals represented.

*Summary of identifications:*

- A. An adult (not aged) male individual.
- B. Robust male adult (middle aged or older).
- C. Young adult individual (around twenty years of age or less). ? sex.

*Conclusion.* So far then as the evidence goes the Stenigot osseous remains represent three individuals: an adult male, a tall, robustly-built adult male of middle or later life, and a young adult, probably about twenty years old or less and as to whose sex there is no positive evidence.

A platycnemic tibia and some corresponding foot-bones (perhaps belonging to skeleton A) are green-stained by copper or bronze.

The teeth available for examination show a degree of functional attrition common in the Saxon period.

## THE TECHNIQUE OF GREEK BLACK AND *TERRA SIGILLATA* RED

By MAVIS BIMSON

CLASSICAL pottery such as *terra sigillata* has no parallel in the post-classical world, and was studied by scholars for many years before the methods of its manufacture were known. It is remarkable that practically none of the research on the technical aspect was carried out in England, and, in spite of their great interest, the processes involved still seem to be little understood here. It is the purpose of this paper to review these processes, to show how various misconceptions have arisen in regard to them, and also to suggest some more probable explanations in the light of work done recently at the British Museum laboratory.

An unfortunate result of the early ignorance concerning the nature of the surface-layer was the borrowing of the term 'glaze', which ought to be strictly confined to the vitreous layer wherewith most porcelain and earthenware are covered. It will be shown that the superficial layer of *terra sigillata* is a very different and completely unrelated substance; and it may be said at once that the most acceptable alternative to the word 'glaze' seems to be 'gloss',<sup>1</sup> which has no misleading associations and will therefore be used in this paper. With *terra sigillata*, the closely related problem of the so-called Greek black 'glaze' will be considered.

Among the earliest scientific work on the Greek black gloss were two analyses published in 1844 by Brongniart,<sup>2</sup> which showed that it contained the oxides of silicon, aluminium, magnesium, calcium, iron, sodium, and potassium. In spite of these analyses, Brongniart came to the conclusion that sufficient manganese must have been present to give a manganese-iron black,<sup>3</sup> an error which unfortunately gained a firm place in the literature.

The credit for first recognizing that the colour was due to an oxide of iron should probably be given to Durand-Gréville,<sup>4</sup> who wrote as follows: 'If one heats out of contact with air . . . a sherd of Greek vase covered with black paint, this keeps its colour, but, if the fragment is strongly heated in the presence of air, its black colour is oxidized and becomes red in the form of ferric oxide.<sup>5</sup> . . .' In scientific terms, this means that when there is a shortage of oxygen in the kiln the black oxides of iron are stable; but when there is a plentiful supply the red oxide,<sup>5</sup> which has a higher ratio of oxygen to iron, is formed. It may be noted that *terra sigillata* red is thus essentially the same as Greek black, the only difference being the higher state of oxidation of the iron it contains.

The question as to how the Greeks were able to obtain iron in different states of oxidation on the same vase was answered by two Americans, C. F. Binns and A. D.

<sup>1</sup> This term was used by R. J. Charleston in *Roman Pottery* (London, 1955).

<sup>2</sup> A. Brongniart, *Traité des arts céramiques* (Paris, 1844).

<sup>3</sup> The black glaze in common use by potters at

that time.

<sup>4</sup> E. Durand-Gréville, 'Couleur du décor des vases grecs', in *Revue Archéologique*, 1891, pp. 99-118.

<sup>5</sup> Ferric oxide,  $Fe_2O_3$ .

Frazer.<sup>1</sup> Their experiments showed that when antique sherds were refired under reducing conditions and oxygen allowed to enter during the cooling stage, the iron oxide in the body of the sherds was reoxidized while in the painted areas it remained black. As a result of this work, Binns and Frazer concluded that the Greek kilns were fired in three stages; first an oxidizing fire to 600° C., then a reducing fire to about 950° C. (obtained by using a type of fuel which would produce a dense smoke), and finally a second oxidizing period after the temperature had fallen to 850° C. While there can be no certainty about the details of a lost technique this seems to be unnecessarily complicated and would be difficult to carry out in a simple kiln. A bright, fierce fire is needed to raise the temperature of a kiln from 600° C. to 950° C. and that is not consistent with a reducing atmosphere. It is more likely that normal firing continued until the baking was complete and then the fire was damped down and all vents sealed. By this means the access of oxygen would be cut to a minimum and a reducing atmosphere would automatically ensue, whether or not some special smoky fuel was introduced; as soon as the temperature had fallen sufficiently, the fire would be raked out and air allowed to enter. This schedule has been used very successfully at the British Museum laboratory for firing Greek black.

Although the technique of firing the ware was now understood, the material used for the gloss remained unknown to the archaeologist. This problem had been taken up by workers in Germany who were interested in the commercial possibilities of the process. According to A. J. Rijken<sup>2</sup> the first person to reproduce *terra sigillata* was C. Nuissl, who took out a patent for it in 1914.<sup>3</sup> Nuissl allowed the heavy particles to settle from a suspension of ferruginous clay and used the supernatant slip for his gloss. Subsequent attempts to repeat his results failed, since at that time it was not realized that the majority of clays cannot be used to produce *terra sigillata* no matter what method is used. In 1936 Schumann<sup>4</sup> did succeed in reproducing the gloss and attributed his success to the selection of clay particles of colloidal dimensions. These anomalous results suggested to A. J. Rijken and J. C. Favejee<sup>5</sup> that it might be interesting to investigate the mineralogical composition of the clay fraction less than 2  $\mu$  and they found it to consist in most clays of kaolinite, montmorillonite, and/or a muscovite-related<sup>6</sup> mineral. Pure samples of each of these minerals were then made into slips, painted on unbaked sherds and fired at 1,000° C. The kaolinite and montmorillonite both gave dull layers, whereas illite gave a 'coherent shiny layer' in the unfired state, and when fired, had the characteristic appearance of *terra sigillata* both as regards shine and colour. Their work showed that a high percentage of illite in the slip is essential for the production of the gloss. The need for deposits of suitable clay explains very satisfactorily the localized distribution of *terra sigillata* manufactories on the Continent and the varying quality of their products.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Genesis of the Greek Black Glaze', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xxxiii (1929), 1-10.

<sup>2</sup> 'Some Aspects of Glazes, Engobes and Terra Sigillata', International Ceramic Congress, Maastricht.

<sup>3</sup> D.R.P. 299493.

<sup>4</sup> D.R.P. 6606928.

<sup>5</sup> *Chem. Weekblad*, xxxviii (1941), 262.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Rijken states that his muscovite mineral closely resembled the mineral to which Grimm gave the name illite.

Once the technique of producing *terra sigillata* was known, it was a short step to the reproduction of Greek red and black figure ware, and Schumann,<sup>1</sup> who had previously worked on *terra sigillata*, was apparently the first person to be successful. From his account it seems probable that the Greek potters prepared what is now called a casting slip. By adding a very small percentage of certain salts, a sticky clay slip is converted into a thin mobile liquid from which the heavy particles settle out. The supernatant slip then contains only particles of very small dimensions and if they consist predominantly of illite the slip will be suitable for use as a gloss. In his paper Dr. Schumann greatly stressed the importance of adding protective colloids to the clay slip; but though it is impossible to say that such colloids are not necessary (since they are naturally present in most clays) it has been observed in preparing samples of the gloss in the British Museum laboratory that their addition is not essential. Similarly Schumann stressed the addition of further alkali, which was also found to be unnecessary; unlike the more common clay minerals illite contains an alkali element.<sup>2</sup> An account of Dr. Schumann's work was incorporated in the Faber Monograph on Greek pottery<sup>3</sup> and although in his original paper Schumann refers in a footnote to the work on clay minerals by Rijken and Favejee<sup>4</sup> it is unfortunate that the reference was not carried over to the Monograph, which leaves the misleading impression that particle size is the paramount factor in the production of a gloss. Using Schumann's methods, it was found impossible to reproduce *terra sigillata* in the British Museum laboratory until we obtained a German clay from the Pfalz;<sup>5</sup> this readily gave a satisfactory gloss and the author is greatly indebted to Dr. Rijken for the sample of this clay.

Another theory of Schumann's referred to in the Faber Monograph concerns the design of the Greek kiln. He appears to have based his theory on a paper by Hussong<sup>6</sup> who in turn based his reconstruction on a vase-painting.<sup>7</sup> In this illustration (pl. xiv a) the upper half of the oven is shown filled with pots, and the perforated floor is supported beneath by a central wall; on one side of this wall are black dots which have been accepted as representing fuel and on the other side is an object which may be a vessel or a flame. From this Schumann conjectured that the central wall extended beyond the oven to support the arch of the tunnel and that only one side of the tunnel was used for firing, the other being used to introduce a vessel containing some material to assist reduction. Such a procedure would make

<sup>1</sup> T. Schumann, *Ber. Deut. Keram. Ges.* xxiii (1942), 408-26.

<sup>2</sup> For example, kaolinite is  $4[\text{Al}_2\text{Si}_2\text{O}_5(\text{OH})_4]$ ; illite is  $\text{K}_{2-3}\text{Al}_{11}\text{Si}_{12-13}\text{O}_{35-36}(\text{OH})_{12-13}$ . Naturally occurring illite almost invariably contains iron as an impurity.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lane, *Greek Pottery* (London, 1948).

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Deposits of suitable clay are found in N. America (see J. B. Kenny, *The Complete Book of Pottery Making*, p. 218) but the Ceramic Research Association could not tell me of an English clay sufficiently rich in illite. The only sigillata kiln

known in this country is the one at Colchester; I found the local London clay which is dug to make bricks quite unsuitable for *terra sigillata*. However, the clay which was discovered packed in pits around the kiln site did give a gloss though of rather poor quality, not unlike that found on the greater part of the kiln's products. It would be very interesting to know the source of this clay, and the author is very grateful to Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., of the Colchester and Essex Museum, for a sample of it.

<sup>6</sup> L. Hussong, *Zur Technik der Attischen Geasskeramik*, Inaugural Diss. (Heidelberg, 1928), p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, i (Berlin, 1891), pl. 1.

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it extraordinarily difficult to fire the kiln properly. In fact a problem seems to have been created where none exists; because any kiln whose draught can be controlled may be used successfully for firing Greek black. The firing of *terra sigillata* is complicated by the fact that the fine red gloss is easily reduced but very difficult to re-oxidize—even to a muddy brown—and it is necessary to keep smoke out of contact with the ware during the whole firing. The kiln for firing *terra sigillata* which was excavated at Colchester contained a series of vertical clay pipes so that the products of combustion passed through the oven without contaminating the atmosphere (pl. XIV b).

When the replica of a simple Romano-British kiln was fired recently at the Wattisfield pottery<sup>1</sup> a few pieces of raw *terra sigillata* were included; it is interesting that two were slightly reduced and one emerged as Greek black (without the slightest intention on our part). It may be that this represents an early stage in the development of the technique and that the potters of the Geometric period were equally uncertain whether their slip decorations would fire black or red. Observation of the results would in time lead to the discovery that by controlling the conditions of combustion they could to a great extent control the colour.

Finally there remains a small group of pottery of which the method of manufacture is still in doubt; a type in which both red and black gloss are found on the same vessel. Dr. Schumann suggested to Miss Richter<sup>2</sup> that the vessels were fired twice, the red gloss being applied after the first normal firing had produced the black gloss and during the second firing never exposed to reduction at all. This method is quite practical and has been carried out in the British Museum laboratory. However it was felt by various scholars that a single firing was more probable and I understand that experiments are proceeding in America to show that different clay fractions may have been used for the different areas. The results should be most interesting.

There are also various scientific questions which must be considered in any discussion of this subject. First, which oxide of iron is responsible for the black colour? It is fairly certain that no one particular oxide is concerned; of three samples of classical Greek black examined for this laboratory at the British Museum (Natural History) by X-ray diffraction, one was shown to contain the mineral wüstite (FeO) and the other two gave diffraction patterns previously unrecorded.<sup>3</sup> Another problem is why the black gloss retains its colour when the 'reserved' areas are re-oxidized to red. It is usually suggested that this difference in behaviour is due to the oxidizing gases having greater difficulty in penetrating the gloss; either because of sintering or close packing of the clay particles. If this were so it follows that the reduction of the gloss ought to be similarly hindered; but it has been observed in this laboratory that after slight exposure to reducing conditions the gloss may be jet black while the colour of the body is hardly changed. It therefore seems probable that a purely physical explanation is inadequate and it is suggested here that at the critical temperature (950–1,000° C.) the lower oxidation state of iron may be much

<sup>1</sup> Through the interest of Mr. F. J. Watson. An account of this experiment has not yet been published.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. A. Richter in *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, xlvi (1951), 143–50.

<sup>3</sup> These oxides were not identified.

more stable in the gloss than in the body, due to differences of bonding in the molecule. Finally there is the nature of the shiny surface layer. Dr. Schumann<sup>1</sup> believed that it was due to the small size of the particles, but it has been shown that this single factor is not sufficient;<sup>2</sup> others have considered that sintering took place and a glassy layer was formed. However, it was observed by Rijken and Favejee<sup>2</sup> and has been confirmed in this laboratory that the gloss is apparent before firing; also a cross-section made here showed no vitreous layer at a magnification of  $\times 100$ . The similarity between this gloss and that obtained by polishing an ordinary clay suggests that the effect may be due to the orientation of the mineral particles parallel to the surface. In polishing, this is achieved by external pressure, whereas in the case of the mineral illite the plate-like particles<sup>3</sup> apparently take up a similar orientation by virtue of their surface forces.

In conclusion, it may be claimed that the technique used in the manufacture of this pottery is now understood in its general outline, though some scientific problems remain to be solved. It has been shown in this paper that *terra sigillata* red and Greek black are fundamentally the same; in both cases the gloss is obtained by painting or 'slipping' the partly dried pot with a fine suspension of an illite clay containing a certain amount of iron. The ware may then be fired either to obtain *terra sigillata* red, when it is kept from contact with reducing gases, or to obtain Greek black if exposed to reducing gases; in each case the colour is due to an oxide of iron. The important points which it is hoped that this paper has succeeded in establishing are, firstly, that a particular mineralogical species of clay is essential to the process and, secondly, that the process itself—from the technological point of view—is one of extreme economy and simplicity, although the underlying theories may appear somewhat complicated.

The author would like to thank Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, F.S.A., and her colleagues in the Research Laboratory and the Greek and Roman Dept. of the British Museum, to whom she is greatly indebted.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

mica (muscovite) which occurs in large laminated sheets.

<sup>2</sup> By Rijken and Favejee, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that illite is closely related to



a. Fragment of a vase painting  
showing the vertical section of a  
Greek kiln

after *Antike Denkmäler*



b. Smoke ducts from the *terra sigillata* kiln at Colchester

By courtesy of the Colchester and Essex Museum

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## CHURCH ORIENTATIONS AND PATRONAL FESTIVALS

By THE REV. HUGH BENSON, M.A.

IN *Antiq. Journ.* xxx (1950), pp. 47-51, the late C. J. P. Cave, F.S.A., contributed a paper on the orientation of churches. He referred to Wordsworth's poem on Rydal chapel, written in 1823, and to the note prefixed to it. In this note Wordsworth says: 'Our churches invariably perhaps, stand east and west, but *why* is by few persons *exactly* known; nor, that the degree of deviation from *due* east often noticed in the ancient ones was determined, in each particular case, by the point in the horizon at which the sun rose upon the day of the saint to whom the church was dedicated.' The poem that follows describes a vigil on the site the night before, and in the morning the solemn fixing of the church's position by observing the rising sun.<sup>1</sup>

It must be admitted that there is no evidence in service books or other records that churches were set out actually in this way. The infrequency of a clear sky at sunrise in England would seem to make it impracticable. Moreover, if the site had been previously occupied by an earlier church or a preaching cross, the point in the sky where the sun rose on the patronal festival or special saint's day could have been observed over a course of years, and marked by some feature, so that the new church could be set out on any day without sunshine or ceremony. This paper will therefore be concerned simply with Wordsworth's statement that English churches faced sunrise on their patronal festivals. Is it true?

Cave says that his observations give no support whatever for the idea. He adds, referring to other investigators, that the late F. C. Eeles also concluded that there

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth does not tell us how he came to know this. It is reputed to be a Scottish Masonic tradition. (See *Dictionary of Architecture*, Architectural Publication Society, 1853, article on 'Orientation', and W. A. Laurie, *History of Freemasonry*, 1859, p. 414. These articles, however, both quote Wordsworth in corroboration.) A very much earlier mention is to be found, by Silas Taylor (or Domville). Domville was a captain in the Parliamentary army, who later devoted himself to antiquarian pursuits. He died in 1678. One of his manuscripts contains this passage: 'In the days of yore, when a church was to be built, they watched and prayed on the vigil of the dedication, and took that point of the horizon where the sun rose from the East, which makes that variation, so that few stand true, except those built between [= at] the equinoxes. I have experimented some churches and have found the line to point to that part of the horizon where the sun arises on the day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated.' During the Com-

monwealth Domville ransacked the cathedral libraries of Hereford and Worcester with great zeal. Hence he may have got his information from early sources. This is quoted from Walter Johnson, *Byways in British Archaeology*, 1912, p. 225. On the other hand, at his date, Domville might have had contact with the living tradition as a Masonic secret.

That English churches faced sunrise on their Patronal Festivals is referred to by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb in 1842 as 'a practice undoubtedly prevalent in England' (*Symbolism of Churches by Durandus*, trans. J. M. Neale and B. Webb, 1842, p. 14, n. 17). They neither tell us the source of their information nor mention Wordsworth. Nor do they say how far they really assured themselves it was a fact. They note, however, that Durand himself knew nothing of the custom, in fact he expected all churches to face due east like St. Peter's, Rome, and complained that a few faced sunrise at the solstices instead.

was no support for it in Scottish churches, and that T. W. Shore agreed for Hampshire. Cave also mentions that W. Airey too disposed of the idea.

In his paper Cave tells us that he measured 642 churches. He takes as his first example his churches that are dedicated as St. Peter's. He had measured 62. Their orientations ranged from  $54\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  to  $115\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ . The position of sunrise on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29th June) was, he says,  $52\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  (latitude  $51^\circ$  N.) in the thirteenth century. Thus not a single church was less than  $2^\circ$  off the required direction. Most were very wide of it. Cave's other examples gave similar results.

My own investigations I have carried farther. Firstly, for example, St. Peter has two other festivals besides 29th June. They are 22nd February, the festival of his Throne, and 1st August the festival of his Chains. In order to discover if a church faced sunrise on one of these days rather more accurate calculations must be made. It is of little use just to measure the church's orientation. The local horizon is of great importance, and must always be measured too. In some cases it might make a difference of  $20^\circ$  to the position of local sunrise. All deductions based on an assumption that every horizon measures  $0^\circ 0'$  will be false. Actually,  $0^\circ 0'$  is rare, and only found where churches are on exposed sites. It is most unfortunate that Cave never measured his horizons. Nor did Eeles, Shore, Airey, or other investigators I know.<sup>1</sup>

Calculation of sunrise positions must be made for the sun's upper limb, not its centre. Due allowance must also be made for the refraction of light. Neither of these is very much, but in England their combined effect is a matter of  $1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  in the position of sunrise. There is lastly the Julian calendar, which means that the position of sunrise on any particular day changed from century to century. Every church measured must therefore be dated.

Taking these several factors carefully into consideration I have measured the 237 churches and chapels of Oxfordshire that certainly are either medieval themselves or have medieval foundations, and have calculated in each case the days they faced sunrise. Among these churches there are 25 now dedicated as St. Peter's. Eight of these faced sunrise on a festival of St. Peter, to the very day:

Broadwell (D)	.	.	.	.	29th June
Broughton Pogis (D)	.	.	.	.	1st August

<sup>1</sup> e.g. J. Rigg, 'The Orientation of King's College Chapel' (*Camb. Antig. Soc. Journ.*, vol. i (1853)). Rigg calculated the chapel's sunrise day to be 22nd Mar. The chapel is indeed on level ground, but it is not on an exposed site, so the local horizon would not be  $0^\circ 0'$ . Distant treetops, etc., in such cases always make it at least  $1^\circ$  high, and this would bring the sunrise day to 25th Mar.

See also S. Gsell, *Les Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, ii, 1901, p. 124. Gsell may have had his refraction, etc., correct, but he disregarded his local horizon. What is more, his book contains a photograph of his church, the basilica of St. Salsa at Tipasa, and this shows an enormous hill to the east. If he

had made allowance for this hill he might have found his church facing sunrise on St. Salsa's Day after all. But in any case the basilica was built in the middle of an ancient cemetery, all the tombstones of which lay in a particular direction, including that of St. Salsa herself, which was preserved intact and made the centrepiece of the new church. In such circumstances the church could hardly be expected to run skew-wise across the tombs, whatever the reason.

I obtained this reference to Gsell's book from J. D. Davies, *The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture*, 1952, p. 83. Davies rejects the idea of Patronal Festival orientation on the strength of this isolated and unsatisfactory example.

Dorchester Abbey . . . . .	22nd February
Drayton-St.-Peter . . . . .	22nd February
Hook Norton (nave) . . . . .	1st August
South Newington . . . . .	22nd February
Wilcote . . . . .	22nd February
Wolvercote . . . . .	29th June

This is admittedly less than half, but is nearly a third, and very different from Cave's *nil*.

The two churches in this list marked (D) call for special note. Broughton Pogis is a Norman church with an Early English chancel. The Norman nave was built to face sunrise on 1st August. When the Early English chancel was built a century and a half later, the sun was rising on 1st August about 1° farther to the south. The new chancel runs therefore in this new direction. This is the reason for the crooked chancel.

A somewhat similar thing seems to have happened at Broadwell. The parts of Broadwell church are difficult to date, since it was much rebuilt in the thirteenth century, but on analogy with other churches it seems that the chancel preserves at least the foundations of an older church. So at Broadwell it is the chancel that has the original direction, and the nave the corrected direction. This again is the reason for the crooked chancel.

There has been a great deal of speculation on the reason for crooked chancels, from the sentimental—that they represent our Saviour's inclined head on the cross,<sup>1</sup> to the practical—that they are due to the carelessness or ignorance of medieval builders.<sup>2</sup> I think it will be found, on the contrary, that in possibly every case they are due to a deliberate change of orientation in parts built at a later date. There are 87 crooked churches in Oxfordshire, and in very nearly every case the difference of orientation between the two parts of the church is simply the difference required by the change of the position of sunrise due to the use of the Julian calendar. Feast days in the first half of the year (15th December to 15th June, Norman calendar) required a change to the north, and feast days in the second half (15th June to 15th December) required a change to the south. In just a few cases the orientation seems to have been changed for other reasons in addition to the requirements of the Julian calendar.

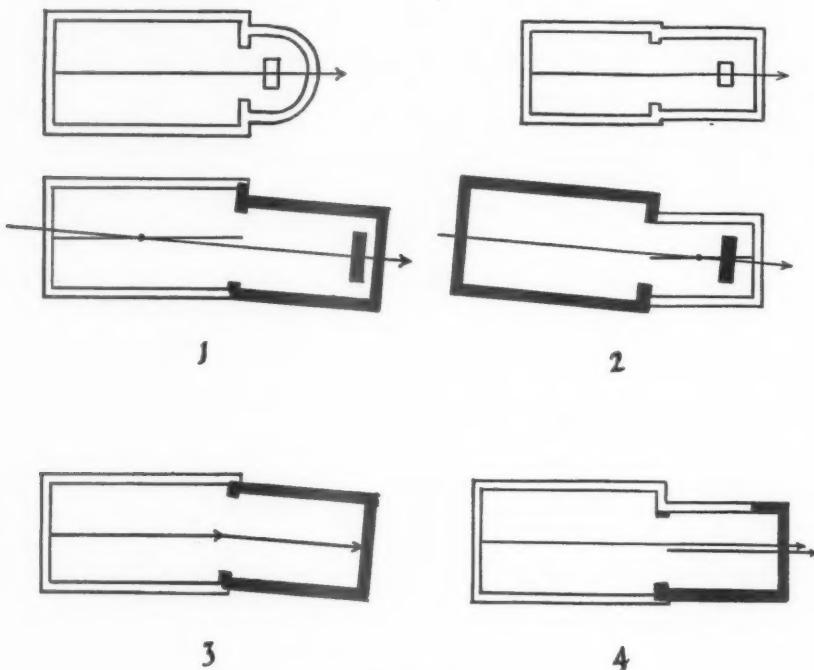
That these changes of orientation are deliberate is further emphasized by the following observation. The new part of the church, with its new direction, is not just added clumsily to the old. It is usually joined, rather ingeniously, according to a definite design, the purpose of which is to have the effect of changing the direction of the church as a whole. One such design is found where the chancel is new, and another where the nave is new. In the first case the two axial lines will be found to

<sup>1</sup> *The Symbolism of Churches by Durandus*, trans. J. M. Neale and B. Webb, 1842, p. lxxii.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Cave himself at the end of his article, p. 51. See also A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church*, 1911, p. 131; F. Bond, *Dedications of English Churches*,

1914, p. 249; C. Munro Cautley, *Norfolk Churches*, 1949, pp. 14-17. Cautley pictures the mason setting out the site of a church by scraping his foot along the ground, as a farmer might set out the site of a rick.

cross one another in the centre of the nave. In the second they will be found to cross one another in the centre of the chancel. The whole church appears to have been swung round, as it were, on one or other of these two points. The diagrams in figs. 1 and 2 will make this clear.



#### Crooked Churches

1. The orientation of an ancient church changed by means of a new chancel.
2. The orientation of an ancient church changed by means of a new nave. In both cases the change is to the south. The new parts are shown in black.
3. A simple change of direction at the chancel arch. Either the chancel or the nave may be new.
4. The axial lines parallel—no change of direction.

The chancel arch is in most cases, it seems, rebuilt so as to stand centrally astride the new axial line, at right angles to it.

There is indeed a third type of crooked church frequently found. It cannot be said to have the effect of changing the direction of the church as a whole. The axial lines simply meet at the chancel arch, and only the styles of architecture in the first instance will indicate which half of the church has the original direction and which the correction. This type is illustrated in fig. 3. Broughton Pogis is like this. Broadwell is of the type shown in fig. 2. Fig. 1 is the type most commonly found, perhaps half the crooked churches met with are of this plan.

I have added fig. 4 as a warning. There are quite a number of churches like this. To an unpractised eye they can be mistaken for the type shown in fig. 2.

There are also a few churches which have a small part of an older church incorporated into them—perhaps only a few feet, but enough to show the different direction of the earlier one. In Oxfordshire this can be seen at Bicester and Bodicote. The same sort of thing, but on a very grand scale, is found at Oxford Cathedral. Cardinal Wolsey's new college, with new chapel planned but never built, is set out on a line turned nearly  $5^{\circ}$  north of the line of the old priory church, now the cathedral. The cathedral seems to incorporate very old foundations, which give it its direction,<sup>1</sup> and to have faced sunrise on 25th March when it was originally built. During the passage of six or seven centuries the position of sunrise on 25th March had changed by nearly  $5^{\circ}$ . Hence the line of the present buildings.

To return to our Peter churches, the remaining 17 churches that did not face sunrise on a festival of St. Peter faced sunrise on the following days:

Alvescot	.	.	.	.	.	.	14th September
Aston Rowant	.	.	.	.	.	.	3rd April (or 29th August)
Bucknell (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	3rd April
Cassington	.	.	.	.	.	.	15th August
Caversham (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	25th March
Checkendon	.	.	.	.	.	.	10th March
Cornwell	.	.	.	.	.	.	25th March
Deddington (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	10th March
Hanborough (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	3rd April
Hanwell (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	29th August
Great Haseley (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	29th August
Marsh Baldon (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	15th August
Oxford, St.-Peter-in-the-East (D)	.	.	.	.	.	.	15th August
Shiplake	.	.	.	.	.	.	25th March
Steeple Aston	.	.	.	.	.	.	25th March
Stoke Lyne	.	.	.	.	.	.	14th September
Swalcliffe	.	.	.	.	.	.	25th March

As before, the sign (D) indicates a crooked church with two alignments of different dates, each correct for its own century.

The above days are typical of what is found for the county as a whole, my totals for Oxfordshire being:

44 churches 25th March (The Annunciation)

34      "      14th September (Holy Cross)

<sup>1</sup> S. A. Warner, *Oxford Cathedral*, 1924, pp. 20, 21. The foundations discovered to the east of the Lady Chapel and north Choir Aisle belong either to the original or to the second Saxon church. Whatever the date of the east wall itself, the chapel lies on the line of this Saxon building, as the plans show it. So does the Norman church. Why it was not cor-

rected I do not know, unless the shrine made this inadvisable. Note that Oxford Cathedral is an instance where our arguments could be reversed, for the orientation requires a Saxon foundation line, else the sunrise day would be 22nd Mar. not 25th Mar. Dorchester Abbey is another instance where very ancient foundations are indicated.

27	churches	15th August (The Assumption)
12	"	22nd August (Octave day of the Assumption)
about 20	"	3rd April
about 20	"	29th August (St. John Baptist)
14	"	1st August (St. Peter)
13	"	29th September (St. Michael)
12	"	10th March or near
11	"	22nd February (St. Peter)
5	"	29th June (St. Peter and St. Paul) or 24th June (St. John Baptist)
11	"	in various smaller groups or isolated cases
14	doubtful, or difficult to measure, including five college chapels which	
		may not be in the scheme.

It will be seen that apart from 3rd April and 10th March these days are all festivals of Holy Church—a very significant fact. It is also interesting to see the great popularity of the Annunciation, the Assumption with its octave day 22nd August, and Holy Cross, accounting between them for nearly half the churches of Oxfordshire.

I obtained this list of sunrise days first of all from my crooked churches, for they conveniently reveal which half of the year their sunrise day is in. When dealing with my straight churches I have then taken it that the same sunrise positions intended the same days, although of course every straight church has an alternative day in the other half of the year. The 3rd of April and its alternative day in the Norman calendar, 29th August, are both found among crooked churches, and in about equal numbers. I have therefore for my totals divided these straight churches equally between these two dates.

Early calendars<sup>1</sup> often enter THE RESURRECTION against 27th March, as traditionally the first Easter Day. As 3rd April is seven days later it would be Low Sunday on this reckoning. Did churches with titles like Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, possibly keep their festivals on this day? I do not know. Nor have I any idea what 10th March was.

An interesting church in the list, included among the isolated examples, is St. Swithun's church, Merton. It has an ancient north wall to its chancel, a feature frequently found. When this wall was built, presumably part of an older church, it faced sunrise on 2nd July. The 2nd of July was then St. Swithun's Day.<sup>1</sup> When the nave was built in the thirteenth century, and the chancel enlarged, St. Swithun's Day had been changed to 15th July, his Translation. The difference between the sunrise position on these two days in July, including the change of century, is about 5°. So the Early English nave has this new direction, and Merton is an outstanding example of a reorientated church with 5° difference between its chancel and its nave. The plan is that shown in fig. 2. Note also that its dedication is still St. Swithun.

My list of churches and chapels in Oxfordshire is, I believe, the complete list. It includes various ruined chapels whose dedications are not now known. There are,

<sup>1</sup> F. Wormald, 'English Church Calendars before 1100' (*Henry Bradshaw Soc.*, vol. lxxii).

however, 224 churches with known present dedications. In 39 cases the church faced sunrise on its saint's day. This is not a large portion—only about one in six. But it must be remembered that a number of these present dedications are almost certainly not medieval. At the Reformation dedications seem to have been frequently forgotten.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, every time that a church was substantially rebuilt it had to be reconsecrated, and a reconsecration was always an opportunity for a change of dedication. So even medieval dedications may often not be the original dedication of a church.

Oxford Cathedral, now known as Christ Church, was previously called St. Frideswide's, and is so called in Domesday Book, but St. Frideswide's father, we are told, built the first church 'to the Holy Trinity, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, and All Saints'.<sup>2</sup> Its feast of title would presumably be Lady Day, 25th March. It faces sunrise on 25th March—that is, in the eighth-century Julian calendar.

Lichfield Cathedral is another example. Bede mentions two churches at Lichfield: St. Mary's and St. Peter's.<sup>3</sup> The present dedication of the cathedral is The Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Chad. It was, however, built on the site of the St. Peter's church. Its orientation is to sunrise on 1st August (St. Peter's Day)—that is, in the twelfth century, with later correction in a later century.

Another example is Rochester Cathedral. In 1542 the cathedral was rededicated in the title of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary. Bede, however, gives the original dedication as St. Andrew, which was indeed its medieval dedication. The foundations of the original church still exist, facing in a very southerly direction. If the small map sold to visitors has been correctly drawn it is several degrees away from the position of sunrise on St. Andrew's day. There is, however, no doubt about the great Norman church which took its place. Standing at 127°—an even more southerly orientation—it faces the exact position of local sunrise on 30th November (St. Andrew's Day) in the Norman calendar.

These examples seem to me extremely significant. It is possible that there are a very large number of churches like these, where the sunrise day preserves the original dedication of the first church on the site.

It is true that we occasionally have records or legends of the foundation of a church, perhaps after a vision or message that indicated both the site and the dedication. But it is impossible in any particular case to be sure even then that there was

<sup>1</sup> K. E. Kirk, *Church Dedications of the Oxford Diocese*, 1946, p. 18, mentions Brize Norton as one instance among others. Here the village took its name from the Bruns family which once owned the place, not, as supposed, from St. Brice. I imagine Stanton-St. John is another, for the Sinjohn family once owned the place. There are also instances like Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire. There the church was taken as being St. James's, after the local fair held on that day. Though often a reliable guide, it was not so in this case, as the medieval dedication is now known to have been St. Mary (see Diocesan Calendar of recent years). Another one-time St.

James's church is rather amusing. The place need not be named, but the rector told me his church had always been called St. James after an ancient well, popularly known as 'Jim's well'. The well, however, turned out to be comparatively recent, named affectionately after a previous rector who had dug it. St. James was therefore dropped as patron saint of the church, but not before a large picture of him in painted glass had been placed in the east window.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. Warner, *Oxford Cathedral*, 1924, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *A History of the English People* (1955, Penguin edn., p. 207). For Rochester, see p. 103.

no previous church already on the site, which, in some way or other, was originally incorporated in the building of the new church, and determined its general direction, and sunrise day.

Merton has already been mentioned. There are three other churches in Oxfordshire where the orientation has been changed by  $4^\circ$  or  $5^\circ$  after the lapse of hardly more than a century—Alkerton, Beckley, and Great Milton. This difference is far too much for the requirements of the Julian calendar, and must indicate a change of day. In all three cases it is a change between 22nd August and 15th August—the octave day of the Assumption and the Assumption itself. This is not a change of saint, but, like Merton, is merely a change of day, and would seem to be meaningless unless the day was something like the Patronal Festival. There are two 'problem' churches in Oxfordshire—Brightwell Baldwin and Hook Norton—which may be a change of saint.

Outside the county I have mainly sought churches of special interest, such as very ancient churches like St. Piran's in Cornwall, and hill-top churches like Brentor, Glastonbury Tor, Mount St. Michael, and such. St. Piran's faces an earth-work on the horizon two miles away, marking the point where the sun rose in the seventh century on 15th August. Brentor had a Lady Day orientation in all probability, and Glastonbury an Assumption orientation. Mount St. Michael in Penzance Bay was 3rd April. The little Michael chapel on Rame Head, Cornwall, faces the conical peak of the Mewstones five miles away. This peak marks the point on the horizon where the sun rose on 29th September (St. Michael's Day) in the fourteenth century, the date of the chapel. This chapel is known to have been St. Michael's from the first, for contemporary records state that Mass was permitted there only on Mondays and on St. Michael's Day itself.<sup>1</sup>

I have measured quite a number of churches in different parts of England, and they suggest that what I have found in Oxfordshire is broadly typical of England as a whole.

#### SELECTED SUNRISE POSITIONS IN THE NORMAN CALENDAR (TRUE HORIZONS)

	Lat. $55^\circ$	$54^\circ$	$53^\circ$	$52^\circ$	$51^\circ$	$50^\circ N.$	
PURIFICATION (2nd Feb.)	$115\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$115^\circ$	$114\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$114^\circ$	$113\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$113^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ decrease
ST. PETER (22nd Feb.)	$103^\circ$	$103^\circ$	$102\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$102\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$102^\circ$	$102^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
10th MARCH	$92\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$92\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$92\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$92^\circ$	$92^\circ$	$92^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
ANNUNCIATION (25th Mar.)	$82^\circ$	$82^\circ$	$82^\circ$	$82\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$82\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$82\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
3rd APRIL	$76^\circ$	$76\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$76\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$77^\circ$	$77^\circ$	$77^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
ST. JOHN BAPT. (24th June)	$45\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$46\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$48^\circ$	$49^\circ$	$50^\circ$	$50\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ increase
ST. PETER AND PAUL (29th June)	$46^\circ$	$47^\circ$	$48\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$49\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$50\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$51^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
ST. PETER (1st Aug.)	$58\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$59\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$60^\circ$	$61^\circ$	$61\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$62^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
ASSUMPTION (15th Aug.)	$66\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$67^\circ$	$68^\circ$	$68^\circ$	$68\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$69^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
OCTAVE OF ASSN. (22nd Aug.)	$71^\circ$	$71\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$72^\circ$	$72\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$73^\circ$	$73^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
ST. JOHN BAPT. (29th Aug.)	$76^\circ$	$76\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$76\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$77^\circ$	$77^\circ$	$77^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
HOLY CROSS (14th Sept.)	$86\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$86\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$86\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$87^\circ$	$87^\circ$	$87^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "
MICHAELMAS (29th Sept.)	$96\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$96\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$96\frac{1}{2}^\circ$	$96^\circ$	$96^\circ$	$96^\circ$	$\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ "

<sup>1</sup> Notes in Rame parish church.

This table of selected sunrise positions is for Norman and Transitional buildings. For Early English buildings subtract the figure in the last column, which is one day's movement (or add it, after 15th June), twice this for Decorated buildings, and three times for Perpendicular.

Churches should be measured with a prismatic compass to the nearest degree, or half degree if possible. Stoves and iron must be carefully avoided when using the compass, as they deflect the needle. Some churches are very magnetic and difficult to measure inside. Several measurements from different places should always be taken as a precaution.

The magnetic north is slightly different in different parts of England. A map of the variations shows the isogonal lines, as they are called, running south-west to north-east at an angle of about  $20^\circ$  with the meridian. At the point  $50^\circ$  N. on the Meridian of Greenwich, 1955, the variation was  $8^\circ 15' W.$  Elsewhere allow an increase of  $15'$  for each degree of latitude north of this, and  $33'$  for each degree of longitude west of this. Also, deduct  $9'$  for each year after 1955.

A rough means of measuring the local horizon is by extending the hand at arm's length, with the fingers closed. The four fingers cover about  $5^\circ$ , that is,  $1\frac{1}{4}^\circ$  for each finger. The sun moves to the south about  $2^\circ$  in England for each  $1\frac{1}{4}^\circ$  it rises in height. So if a hill, for example, is two fingers high, measured from what is taken to be the level, the sun will have travelled  $4^\circ$  to the south by the time it appears over this hill.

It must be remembered that the indefinite skyline of treetops on level ground is normally about  $2^\circ$  high, and the sun has travelled  $3^\circ$  to the south before it appears. If, however, the church is on a slight rise, or the ground slopes away gently, the sun will have travelled only  $2^\circ$  or  $1^\circ$ . Actually  $0^\circ$  is only found in exposed sites. On a real hill-top site, with low distant horizon, the sun will rise  $1^\circ$  earlier than shown in the sunrise tables. Chalk downs seem to have been treeless in medieval times, and also a considerable area around any castle; otherwise hills were wooded, and should be measured to tree-top height.

For a methodical work, sunrise tables for every day in the year are a necessity, and also horizon tables, which, like the sunrise tables, vary with the latitude. I measure my horizons with an Abney spirit level.

## NEW LIGHT ON THE ALFRED JEWEL

By PROFESSOR D. TALBOT RICE, F.S.A.

THE Alfred Jewel in the Ashmolean Museum has received attention on numerous occasions; the most recent and most complete publication is that by Miss J. R. Kirk, issued by the Museum in the form of a 'guide'. A full bibliography is there given.<sup>1</sup> The figure in enamel on the obverse has been variously described by different authorities as Christ, the pope, some saint, or even Alfred himself (pl. xv a). Earlier parallels for its iconography have been cited, and Miss Kirk notes several instances in Celtic art, where similar figures are to be found, as well as a textile from Akhmin, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which bears the bust of a figure holding two wands in a similar position.<sup>2</sup> In connexion with it she cites a suggestion put forward by Dalton that the idea of this figure holding two wands was modelled on that of the Egyptian god Osiris, who assumes a very similar position.<sup>3</sup> More recently Dr. Schramm has attempted to explain the two staffs as a sceptre and a 'baculum', twin insignia of rule.<sup>4</sup> Though Dr. Schramm's explanation is reasonable, and the ultimate derivation of the theme from an ancient Egyptian model seems perfectly possible, the more immediate ancestry of the jewel's decoration is hardly accounted for by these explanations, and what seems to the writer a more convincing iconographical prototype is here proposed. It is that the figure represents a portion of a theme which was very popular in East and West alike from the tenth century onwards, namely the 'Ascent of Alexander'.

A rendering of this theme which is closely parallel to that on the jewel is offered by an enamel at the base of a bowl in the Ferdinandum at Innsbrück (pl. xv b). Here the staffs in the figure's hands are held in exactly the same way, the hands before the chest, and the staffs inclined at an angle over the shoulders. The extremities of the staffs are also similar; more similar than those held by the figure of Christ in the Book of Kells which Miss Kirk illustrates.<sup>5</sup> The chief difference is that on the jewel the figure is three-quarter length and appears alone, whereas on the Innsbrück dish it is part of a larger composition, with a winged gryphon on either side.

The Innsbrück dish has been dealt with in several publications.<sup>6</sup> It was made for a Sultan of Amida of the Ortakid dynasty, who reigned around 1144, and the enamel depicts, beyond question of doubt, the theme of Alexander's ascent into

<sup>1</sup> *The Alfred and Minster Lovel Jewels* (Oxford, 1948).

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., pl. iv. Strzygowski, *Jahrbuch der Königlich-Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxiv (1903), 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, xx (1904), 71 ff.

<sup>4</sup> E. Schramm, *Herrschatszeichen und Staats-symbolik*, i (Stuttgart, 1954), 173.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit., pl. III.

<sup>6</sup> Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 120 and 348. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1927), ii, 21. Migeon suggests that it was done by a Chinese craftsman, a proposition which seems most improbable. There is nothing Chinese in its style, and excellent enamels were being produced at this time in the Byzantine world and in the Caucasus. The style of the enamel is moreover markedly Byzantine.

the upper air. According to an old legend, Alexander harnessed two griffins to his throne and held joints of meat on poles above them: the griffins flew up towards the meat, and so raised the throne into the air.<sup>1</sup> The distribution of this theme has been fully surveyed by Loomis.<sup>2</sup> One especially characteristic example already noted by him may however be cited here, as an illustration of the theme in its purest form, namely a slab built into the walls of St. Mark's at Venice (pl. xv d), which is probably to be dated to the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> A few additional examples may also be added to Loomis's list; all are probably of the same eleventh-century date. The additional examples comprise a slab at Chilandari on Mount Athos,<sup>4</sup> another slab at Thebes in Greece,<sup>5</sup> a silver vase from Transcaucasia,<sup>6</sup> a ring in the Stathatos collection at Athens,<sup>7</sup> a Byzantine enamel that forms a part of the Pala d'Oro in St. Mark's at Venice (pl. xv c),<sup>8</sup> and a lead seal in the Hermitage at Leningrad.<sup>9</sup> This is the earliest example of the Alexander theme in its pure form that is so far known in developed Byzantine art; it is to be dated to the joint reign of Leo VI and Constantine VII, that is to 911 or 912.

The theme thus seems to have been very popular in the Byzantine world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and to have come into circulation early in the tenth. It became almost equally popular in the West in the twelfth, being introduced presumably from the Byzantinized parts of the Italian mainland. Emile Male thinks the troubadours were responsible for popularizing the story.<sup>10</sup> The tale was also popular in the Islamic world, and Grabar suggests that the theme in art was developed there before it was adopted in the Byzantine world, but though the Byzantine objects on which it is depicted are usually oriental in style, there are no Islamic examples of an earlier date than the Byzantine ones. Nor is our theme, as we know it, rendered in exactly the same way in Sasanian art which was presumably the basis on which the Islamic renderings were founded. Celestial chariots do appear there at an earlier date, but they are of a rather different type

<sup>1</sup> The story appears as an interpolation in the Life of Alexander of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, which was composed in Alexandria in the third century A.D. The original text has perished but there are a number of later variants. See G. Millet, 'L'Ascension d'Alexandre', *Syria*, iv, 1923. This important article by Millet, marked at the end 'à suivre', was never actually completed. There is every reason to suppose that an illustrated version of the text existed in the late classical period. See K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Burlington Magazine*, xxxii (1919), 136 ff. and 177 ff.

<sup>3</sup> It was assigned to the tenth by Bertiaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), p. 490, but this dating seems too early on stylistic grounds. Bréhier dates it to the tenth or eleventh; *La Sculpture et les arts mineurs* (Paris, 1936), pl. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Arberry, *The Legacy of Persia* (Oxford, 1953), pl. 12 b. In publishing this photograph, I

failed to recognize the true nature of the theme.

<sup>5</sup> L. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo, 1953), fig. 87. He dates it to the tenth century, but the eleventh is more probable.

<sup>6</sup> A. Grabar, 'Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour byzantine sous les Macédoniens', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd series, iii (1951), 46.

<sup>7</sup> This will be published in the catalogue now being prepared by M. E. Coche de la Ferté, as no. 21. It dates from the thirteenth century. I take this opportunity of thanking him for telling me of it.

<sup>8</sup> Grabar, *loc. cit.*, p. 46. I am indebted to Professor Grabar for the loan of the photograph.

<sup>9</sup> A. Bank, 'Une bulle de plomb avec l'image de l'Ascension d'Alexandre le grand', *Hermitage Museum, Oriental Department, Travaux*, iii (Leningrad, 1940). Text in Russian, summary in French.

<sup>10</sup> É. Male, *L'Art religieux en France au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1922), p. 271.

from the Byzantine ones. Thus a 'Moon chariot' on a Sasanian silver plate in the Hermitage takes the form of a structure not unlike a ciborium, mounted on wheels, and drawn upwards by buffaloes on either side.<sup>1</sup>

The theme was actually extremely widespread. Indeed legends of a celestial ascent are to be found in practically every region in the Near East. In Jewish legend the ascent was made by Akhikar.<sup>2</sup> In Persian legend it was associated with the name of Kai Khaus, the story probably deriving from the Zend Avesta. In Babylonia Nimrod was believed to have ascended in a chest borne aloft by two large birds, and there is a similar story connected with the name of Etanna in the cuneiform texts.<sup>3</sup> The ascent of Helios may also be noted, and in the Old Testament that of Elisha.<sup>4</sup>

In all the areas where the legend was current the ascent was probably portrayed in art from quite early times onwards, and the same iconography appears to have been broadly speaking common to all. A human figure thus appears at the centre, seated on a throne, orb or chariot, to which large birds, winged gryphons or similar creatures are attached. In the Byzantine world there were usually two; in Persia, where the ascent of Kai Khaus is depicted, four of these. The meat is usually held above them on two long poles.

But though the main theme was similar, there were also considerable variations in its rendering. Sometimes, as on an enamel from Sakhnovka in the Hermitage, the staffs look rather like hammers in the figure's hands.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes the figure's arms are upraised on each side of his head, and hold sceptres rather like rattles, as on an interesting floor at Otranto.<sup>6</sup> On an ivory at Darmstadt<sup>7</sup> the figure holds a sceptre in one hand and what appears to be an orb in the other. Sometimes the whole scene is shown, quite realistically, as on the slab in St. Mark's already noted (pl. xv d). Sometimes the composition is extremely stylized, as on the enamel which forms a part of the Pala d'Oro in St. Mark's, where the gryphons are there, but where the human figure is represented only by a minute crowned head in a medallion (pl. xv c). A further stylization appears on an enamel attached to the famous flagon in the church of St. Maurice d'Agaune in Switzerland, where the head in the medallion has become no more than a rosette.<sup>8</sup>

With so many variations before one it is not really surprising to find the figure represented without the gryphons or throne, as on the Alfred jewel. What is surprising is that the jewel is to be dated to the end of the ninth century, whereas none of the Eastern examples, whence the theme must have come, are earlier than the tenth. This, however, is no doubt to be attributed to the vicissitudes of preservation, and one example, perhaps of the seventh, and certainly not later than the eighth century, happily survives. It is a textile now in the Musée du Cinquantenaire

<sup>1</sup> A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1938), iv, pl. 207.

<sup>2</sup> G. Millet, *loc. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> For an interesting note on this confusion see Elizabeth Riefstahl, 'A Coptic roundel in the Brooklyn Museum', in *Coptic Studies in Honor of*

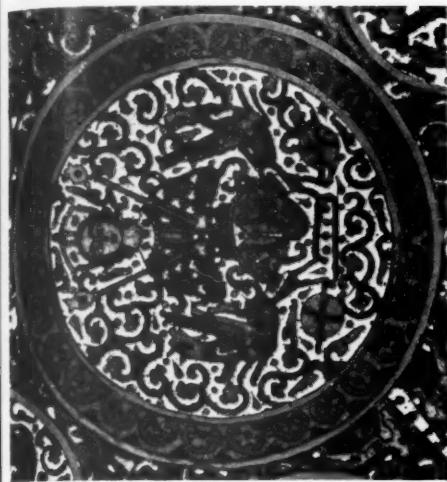
*W. E. Crum* (The Byzantine Institute, 1950), p. 539.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Russian Art*, i (Moscow, 1953), 255.

<sup>6</sup> L'Orange, *op. cit.*, fig. 54.

<sup>7</sup> Bréhier, *La Sculpture et les arts Mineurs*, pl. xxxix.

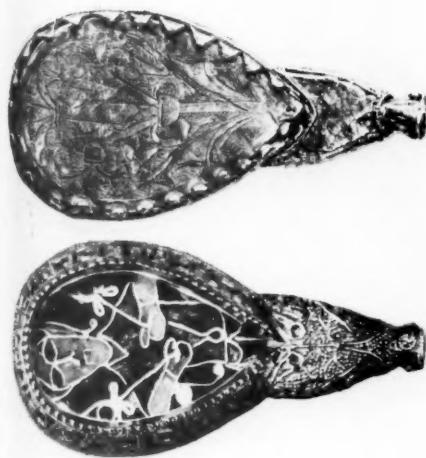
<sup>8</sup> M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst; Zellschmelz*, iii (1921), fig. 46.



b. Enamel bowl at Innsbrück



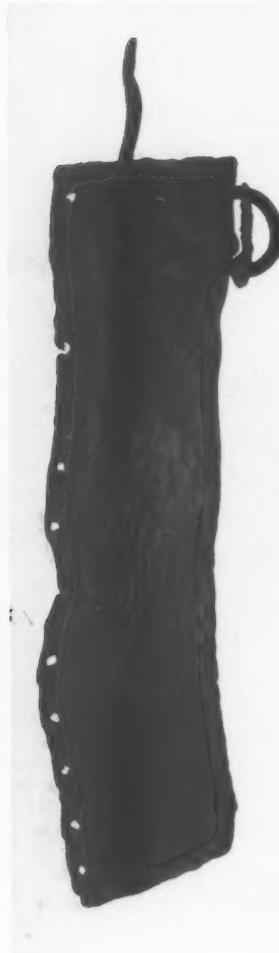
d. Slab, St. Mark's, Venice



a. The Alfred jewel



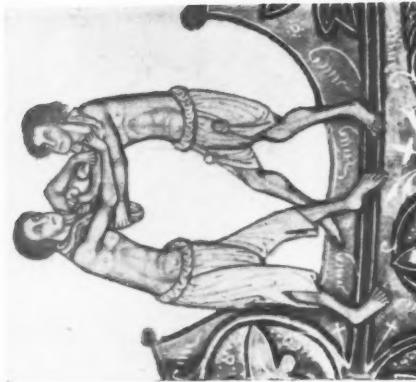
c. Enamel on Pala d'Oro, St. Mark's, Venice



a. Strip of leather with very small circular buckle suspended from a thong (1)  
*By courtesy of the London Museum*



b. Illumination from the Egerton Genesis. Joseph being stripped of his coat by his brothers, showing method of attaching footless hose by circular buckles to the 'brygrydyl'.  
 Type 2 of 'brygrydyl'. (B.M. Egerton MS. 1894, fol. 18v.)



c. Illumination from the Ormesby Psalter (c. 1310) showing method of drawing the end of the 'breche' through the hose buckle when the hose were removed. Type 2 of the 'brygrydyl' with buckles suspended from a long strap rather than from a short thong as in Type 1. (Oxford Bodleian MS. Douce 366, fol. 122v.)

## NEW LIGHT ON THE ALFRED JEWEL

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at Brussels which came there from Münsterbilsen (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It bears a figure in Sasanian costume, who holds two long staffs like sceptres in the characteristic



FIG. 1. Textile from Münsterbilsen. Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels. (3)

position; on either side, however, is a horse instead of a bird or winged gryphon, and below is a wheeled chariot.

The similarity of the pose to that of the figure on the jewel is obvious. Whether the figure in the Book of Kells cited by Miss Kirk<sup>2</sup> stems from this source is less certain, for the tops of the staves end in definite rosettes. There was, undoubtedly, a great deal of confusion of motifs over the centuries, and it may be that two themes have here been drawn on. But the very close similarity of the Alfred Jewel to the Innsbrück enamel and to other examples of the Alexander theme supports the derivation in that case with reasonable security.

<sup>1</sup> Von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin, 1913), p. 57, fig. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. III.

## NOTES

*The medieval 'Brygyrdy'.*—Mrs. F. Russell-Smith contributes the following: The 'brygyrdy' or 'breke-belt' by which the medieval garment known as the 'breche'<sup>1</sup> or 'breke' was secured around the body seems to have been an article of very little worth. It is seldom mentioned in inventories and there seems to have been no instance of its having been bequeathed in a medieval will. The changing pattern of the medieval 'breche' is reasonably familiar to us from manuscript illuminations; it was usual, for instance, to strip criminals to their 'breche' before execution, so that paintings of medieval punishments are useful sources for the study of these undergarments. Illuminations showing wrestlers, penitents, or patients awaiting medical treatment are also worth studying. Paintings of the crucifixion frequently show the two thieves in the medieval 'breche', although Our Lord is often painted in the more ancient loin-cloth.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the abundant number of these pictures available to us, the design of the belt which held up the 'breche' and the method by which it was fastened have remained unexplained. This is because the voluminous folds of the 'breche' were always drawn over and around the belt, thus completely concealing it from view.

The problem would have remained of interest only to students of medieval dress had there not been a related archaeological puzzle connected with the function of certain circular buckles (sometimes called brooches) which have been found *in situ* on each femur of some medieval skeletons. Perhaps the examples best known to archaeologists are those shown in the reports on the mass graves excavated at Visby in Gotland.<sup>3</sup> Two of these buckles were also found in one interment in the churchyard at Herjolfsnes in Greenland. These were found at the level of the belt, and about 10 cm. apart from each other.<sup>4</sup>

Had the continental examples of thigh buckles worn by the laity not been available to us, and had we been forced to rely upon insular evidence alone, it might have been tempting to associate them with some use peculiar to friars and monks. In Oxford six such buckles have been found associated with burials at White Friars;<sup>5</sup> in Cambridge a group came from the site of Austin Friary, and recently Group-Captain Knocker has excavated several coffined burials, with the buckles *in situ* rather high on each thigh, at the Benedictine Abbey of Chertsey.<sup>6</sup> This seeming restriction to one class of wearer can be explained by the medieval practice of burying lay-people in shrouds, while members of the religious orders were invariably buried in their ordinary clothing, i.e. their habits. Only in such exceptional circumstances as those of the mass graves at Visby or the medieval interments at Herjolfsnes could we hope to find medieval burials of lay-people with any of their clothing or ornaments or clothes-fastenings intact.

It has been suggested that these circular buckles may have been used to 'fasten either a cod-piece worn beneath the outer clothing, or possibly an attachment for hose'.<sup>7</sup> The first suggestion

<sup>1</sup> O.E.D. 'Breech in M.E. usually breech as a singular, whence the Kentish breechgerdel, North, brekgyrdil.'

<sup>2</sup> See a Crucifixion by W. de Brailes, pl. xix in *The Work of W. de Brailes*, Roxburghe Club (Cambridge, 1930); also for a fourteenth-century instance see the Missal of Nicholas Litlyngton.

<sup>3</sup> Bengt Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Visby, 1361*, vol. i (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (Stockholm), pp. 117-24, figs. 117, 118, 120).

<sup>4</sup> P. Nørlund, 'Buried Norsemen at Herjolfsnes', *Meddelelser om Grønland*, vol. lxvii (København, 1924), p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxoniensia*, vol. iii (1938), figs. 21, b, c, and d.

<sup>6</sup> I owe most grateful thanks to Group-Captain Knocker and the Ministry of Works for permitting me to mention these examples before the official report on the excavation has been made.

<sup>7</sup> London Museum Catalogue (Medieval), p. 275.

cannot be sustained when we remember the multitude of illuminations showing the 'breche' worn during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. All of the evidence shows that the cod-piece was not introduced until the fifteenth century, and some of these buckles are fairly closely dated; the ones at Visby to 1361, and one from Seacourt village, which was abandoned in the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> That they may have been used as a fastening for hose at this period seems quite feasible, and some support for this opinion is given by a painting in the Luttrell Psalter which shows a little man dancing.<sup>2</sup> His short tunic has fallen apart to show his pointed hose supported by a round object which can hardly be anything else but a circular buckle. Yet, if the hose were buckled at mid-thigh, as they are shown in the Luttrell Psalter example, the only garment to which they can have been buckled was the 'breche'. In this case, in spite of the fact that part of the strain would have been taken by the garters worn beneath the knee, the arrangement would seem to have been a precarious one, especially when the wearer was indulging in violent exercise.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, many medieval paintings show that the long hose were not always supported by garters; in this case the buckle-cum-breche arrangement would have become wholly impracticable. After some experiment with hose cut on the pattern of the Greenland examples,<sup>4</sup> and a 'breche' arranged to correspond as nearly as possible with those shown in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century paintings, the writer was forced to the conclusion that the arrangement was not one that would commend itself to a man either walking or riding, still less to one who was doing any manual labour. It seemed, however, that had the buckles been suspended from a strap from the 'brygyrdyl' the arrangement would have been perfectly secure without tearing the linen 'breche', and would have had a certain amount of desirable elasticity as well. The strap, therefore, seemed a functional necessity, but one for which there was little hope of assembling a satisfactory body of evidence.

Recently, however, when visiting the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, the writer noticed that one of the buckles which came from Austin Friars had a small piece of leather adhering to it. This lent some strength to the theory of a strap, but there was far too little leather left to be conclusive.<sup>5</sup> Shortly afterwards a drawing in the London Museum Medieval Catalogue, which had been perfectly familiar if incomprehensible before, assumed a new significance as a possible example of the elusive 'brygyrdyl' itself.

Here we have a strip of leather with one of the circular buckles suspended from it by a thong, which would have given a great deal of elasticity to the tension between hose and belt (pl. xvi a).<sup>6</sup> Along the upper edge of the belt is a series of small punched holes which must have been deliberately inserted and therefore must have had some function. If this is a medieval 'brygyrdyl' there would have been no reason to pucker it with a draw-string, a solution which the holes immediately suggest. To have done this would have resulted in an uncomfortable and untidy bunching of the leather at the waist. There is, however, another solution which may be acceptable. Medieval people seem to have been willing to sew portions of their clothing together day after day, in a manner which would seem somewhat tedious to us. Thus, before buttons as sleeve fastenings became fashionable, young women sewed the foresleeves of their tunics to a fashionable tightness

<sup>1</sup> *Oxonienzia*, vol. iii (1938), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> The Luttrell Psalter, B.M. MS. Add. 42130, fol. 60.

<sup>3</sup> It was, however, customary for manual labourers to release the hose from their fastenings while at work, and in the fourteenth century to allow them to fall over the garter (Holkham Bible Picture Book, fol. 5r.) or in the fifteenth century to allow them to fall with their points dangling.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Nørlund, *op. cit.*, *Meddelelser om Grønland* (København, 1924), pp. 183 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> Many of the Visby buckles also had fragments of leather and even of thongs adhering to them. See Thordeman's publication mentioned above, figs. 120, 19-22.

<sup>6</sup> The miniature size of both buckle and belt make it seem likely that if this was a 'brygyrdyl' it was made for a small child.

from elbow to wrist.<sup>1</sup> This was regarded simply as part of one's morning duty. It seems at least a reasonable guess that something like this was done in attaching the 'breche' to the 'brygyrdyl'. Most medieval illuminations, until the latter part of the fourteenth century, show the 'breche' as a voluminous garment with many folds. If one imagines the garment, fresh from having been laundered, placed in neat folds *under* the strip of leather shown in pl. xvi, it will be seen that a simple running stitch, following the pattern of the pre-punched holes, would secure the linen in place. The effect shown in illuminations could be achieved by simply turning the 'brygyrdyl' over and buckling at the sides.

In spite of the plausibility of this theoretical identification of the object in the London Museum collection, it was felt that the argument should be supported if possible from contemporary painting. Two other instances of the use of the circular buckle at the thigh may be noted in the Luttrell Psalter. Fol. 54v. shows two wrestlers stripped to their 'breche'; on one a distinct circular object may be seen at the side of the 'breche'. Fol. 74v. shows farm-labourers stripped for flailing. One has the trailing end of the 'breche' drawn up and pinned at the side. In this case the object is more oblong in shape, but the same effect may be achieved by thrusting the tongue of a circular buckle through bunched fabric. In neither of these paintings is there any indication of a strap, and in both the function of the buckle seems to have been to secure the 'breche' and not the hose. A third much more detailed drawing exists in the lower margin of fol. 109 in the Ormesby Psalter.<sup>2</sup> This again shows two wrestlers; the right-hand wrestler has pulled the trailing end of his 'breche' through the circular buckle which, in this case, is most clearly shown attached to a strap (pl. xvi b).

These three paintings seem to indicate an alternative use of the thigh buckle, but it was more probably a secondary and improvised one. The primary use was almost certainly that of a hose fastening. After the 'breche' was put on and the 'brygyrdyl' fastened, the hose would have been pulled on over the lower end of the 'breche' and buckled by means of prepared slits at the points of the hose. The slits would have been an obvious necessity to avoid tearing with the blunt end of the tongue of the buckle. If, during the day, the wearer wished to engage in very violent exercise such as flailing grain or wrestling, he stripped himself of tunic, shirt, and hose, retaining only the 'breche'. The removal of the hose would leave the breche-ends dangling below the knee, and the heavy bronze buckles of the 'brygyrdyl' flapping uncomfortably against the thigh. The wearer solved both problems at once by drawing the flapping ends of the 'breche' through the disengaged buckle in the manner shown in the Ormesby Psalter. When he dressed again the buckle reverted to its primary function of fastening the hose.

It is extremely difficult to find examples of medieval paintings which actually show the hose fastened by the circular buckle. Men were represented either stripped for violent exercise, in which case the hose as well as the tunic and shirt were removed, or they were shown fully dressed. There is, however, one example of footless hose fastened by the circular buckle in the scene in the Egerton Genesis which shows Joseph being stripped of his tunic by his brothers (pl. xvi c). This painting seems to be conclusive to the argument so far as pictorial evidence is concerned.

It is certainly significant, and should perhaps be stressed, that all of the instances in which these buckles have been shown as fastenings for the hose or 'breche' have come from fourteenth-century manuscripts. Paintings of the thirteenth century show that the same function was performed by simple cords suspended from the 'brygyrdyl'. Actual specimens of thirteenth-

<sup>1</sup> See Chaucer's translation of the *Romance of the Rose*, A fragment, 95-105.

A sylvre needle forth I drogh  
Out of an aguiler queynt y-nogh,  
And gan this needle thredre anon;

For out of toun me list to gon  
And in the swete sesoun that leef is,  
With a thredre basting my slevis,  
Aloon I wente in my playing.

<sup>2</sup> Oxford. Bodleian MS. Douce 366, fol. 109.

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century 'brygyrdyls' were included in the store of medieval clothing removed from the Spanish royal tombs at Burgos. Both of these had simple cords or thongs with no buckles for fastening the hose.<sup>1</sup>

Documentary evidence may be useful in suggesting a terminal date for the 'brygyrdyl' with circular fastenings. Under the date 1365, John of Reading<sup>2</sup> mentions a new method of attaching the hose, not to the 'brygyrdyl' but to a short garment by means of ties derisively called 'harlates', 'gadelings', or 'lorels' when first introduced, but which were soon to become known as 'points'. The change was probably made necessary by the increasing shortness of the tunic. Those who adopted the new fashion would still have need of a 'brygyrdyl' to hold up the 'breche', but its secondary function of supporting the hose would now be redundant, and the circular buckles would no longer be needed. Although there is little likelihood that sedate men belonging to the professions adopted the excessively short tunic at so early a date, and monks would probably adhere to the old type of 'brygyrdyl' owing to the length of their habits, the date 1365 may perhaps be said to mark the beginning of a decline in the fashion of the 'brygyrdyl' with circular buckles.

*An unusual iron lynch-pin from Silchester.* Mr. George C. Boon, F.S.A., sends the following note: The accompanying drawing represents an iron lynch-pin found by the Silchester Excavation Committee in 1955. It lay below the hard gravel surface and gravel make-up of one of the streets of Calleva, in mixed earth and gravel. From the 1938 dating of the street-plan (*Archaeologia*, xcii (1947), 135-6) the pin may be assigned to the first or early second century A.D. A few scraps of associated pottery (*terra nigra*; imported butt-beaker; mica-dusted ware; coarse bead-rim) are consonant with this dating, and may indicate the earlier rather than the later part of the period.

The type of pin is unusual, possibly unparalleled, unless *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, iii (1892), pl. clxxxiii, no. 15 (Woodyates) is an imperfect example. The most interesting feature is the rectangular slot near the tip, for the insertion of some kind of cotter-pin to secure the lynch-pin in place. Normally, Roman lynch-pins have a loop for this purpose on the head (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), 358 ff.). Another 'Yorkshire' type has a simple piercing at the same place, but it is rarer (*ibid.*). The method of attachment in the present case is superior, and approaches the modern usage.

After cleaning, it was found that the metal was in sufficiently good state for the pin to be straightened (the corrosion about the middle of the shank is due to the straining of the fibres of iron when the pin was bent). For straightening, the pin had to be made red-hot. During this process a few tiny beads of lead or a similar substance appeared on the squarish facet below the curved ends of the head. This suggests that an appliqué ornament may have been soldered on here.

The pin has been added to the Duke of Wellington's Silchester Collection at Reading Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El Panteón Real de las Huelgas de Burgos* (Madrid, 1946), pp. 22 and 25, pl. xxx, a and b.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica de Johannis de Reading*, ed. James Tait (Manchester, 1914), Hist. Ser. vol. xx, p. 167:

' . . . insuper Paltoks, vestibus curtissimis lanis ac aliis tenuis obturatis ac consutis per totum, quae annos suos sive verenda celare nequierunt, caligis etiam tibiis longioribus ad curta vestimenta colligulatis ligulis quas harlates, gadelinges et lorels vocabant.'



SILCHESTER 1955 Road Cut 1, below  
street metalling.

INS. 8 CMS.

FIG. 1. (1)

## REVIEWS

*Indo-European Languages and Archaeology*. By HUGH HENCKEN. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. vi + 68. Memoir No. 84 published by the American Anthropological Association, 1955.

Archaeologists surely have the right and indeed the duty to face the problem posed by comparative philologists, for language is an aspect of culture, but unhappily an aspect that does not fossilize and can very rarely be confidently identified with those aspects that do fossilize and that constitute the archaeologists' 'cultures'. Hencken is perfectly conscious of the resultant pitfalls, but in general he prefers to explain linguistic change in terms of migrations of peoples, on the analogy of the linguistic history of Britain, rather than by the intervention of an organizing minority as exemplified by Arabic and Romance languages. Migrant peoples should be represented in the archaeological record by cultures, and might even be expected to express their individuality in distinctive ceramic traditions as much as in conventions of linguistic symbolism. On this assumption Hencken is justified in analysing the constitution of those cultures that can with confidence be attributed to speakers of Indo-European languages when the written record begins locally, with a view to discovering in each a culture or contributions from a culture common to all. But Hencken has been guided even in this early part by his acceptance of Palmer's induction of an original Indo-European social structure based on differential terms of land tenure, and therefore, of course, on 'settled agriculture', that must have been published after the inquiry was begun and that is discussed only towards the end of the monograph. Of course, Palmer's thesis, it may here be remarked, is not yet universally accepted, and it demands not only 'settled agriculture' that is itself hard to establish, but, it would seem further, a juxtaposition of villages and isolated estates; what has been revealed by unusually thorough field-work in Iron Age England and by air photography under exceptional conditions in 'Neolithic' Apulia would precisely satisfy the requirements; but such detailed information is hardly ever available, and, what is, is not mentioned by our author. Neither Buchau nor the Goldberg with its chieftain's house in a cluster of commodious farms seem to fit into Palmer's picture.

Hencken begins his inquiry with Celtic, but after fourteen pages is still left with two alternatives, the Saxo-Thuringian battle-axe or the Urnfield culture. The same elements can be distinguished in the genesis of cultures attributable to the speakers of Teutonic and Italic languages (though in the latter case the 'battle-axe' element is less obvious). The Italic languages comprise Venetic, but perhaps not Sicel; but Hencken admits that the latest archaeological evidence is compatible with the older view that Sicel was closely related to Latin. If so, the connexion between Italic and Urnfields would, of course, be further strengthened. Messapic Hencken seems tempted to connect with the Apulian painted pottery which, in the light of Puglisi's recent excavation at the Caverna dell'Erba, Hencken attributes to the second rather than the third millennium as had always been believed previously, and which, incidentally, is associated with types of settlement that seem to fulfil Palmer's requirements very nicely. But Hencken admits that Messapic too might be connected with Urnfields by the aid of Timmari and Taranto. In the Near East, where Indo-European languages were being written a thousand years earlier than in temperate Europe, Hencken can adduce no convincing archaeological links with the more western group of Indo-European languages. The first Greeks are identified as usual with the makers of Minyan ware, but no satisfactory ancestry for these has yet been traced. Hencken does not mention the recently discovered urnfield at Boğazköy, reasonably attributable to the cuneiform Hittites and giving a possible clue to the archaeological identification of the Indo-European group there.

In the second part, pp. 44-58, some recent theories based upon comparative philology or

ethnography are briefly considered. Hencken is clearly attracted by Trubetzkoy's theory that the original Indo-European language or languages should have occupied an intermediate position between Finno-Ugrian on the one hand and a Mediterranean group 'represented today by Caucasic and Semitic languages' on the other, and hence that the cradle should lie somewhere between the Finno-Ugrian and the Caucasic-Mediterranean areas, i.e. in south-east Europe; this area is, however, exceptionally badly explored, and such data as has been published is available to Hencken, if at all, only at second-hand (he evidently has not seen recent Bulgarian, Romanian, and Ukrainian publications that correct a good deal that Childe and Gaul said before 1951). Hencken has relied extensively on Dr. Gimbutas who has revived the thesis of Forssander that Corded Ware-Battle-Axe cultures arise out of that of the Globular Amphorae, which in turn originated in ? Podolia and Volhynia out of local Neolithic cultures and the south Russian 'Hut-Grave culture', and brought westward the Caucasian idea of the port-hole cist (the local Neolithic cultures, however, remain empty names, and if 'Hut-Graves' translate *srubnaya pogrebeniya* they are much too late). Hencken concludes that European *centum* people can be connected with Urnfield people save for the Greeks who might be traced to the Balkans and Asia Minor, to which area might also be traced some of the constituents of the later Urnfield cultures. The alternative of a steppe origin would involve the abandonment of Palmer's thesis.

V. GORDON CHILDE

*Piecing together the Past: the Interpretation of Archaeological Data.* By V. GORDON CHILDE, D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. viii + 176. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956. 18s.

Archaeology, like any other scientific discipline, is based on a number of postulates, which are generally accepted without explicit formulation. Such a body of doctrine, forming, as it does, the necessary foundation for research, is not a static body of revealed truth, but an evolving system of thought. Professor Childe has performed a valuable service by analysing and formulating the fundamental concepts of the now dominant materialist school of archaeology. No one is better qualified than he to undertake this task; no one could have carried it through more competently and lucidly.

A short review of such a book can only call attention to a few points. The emphasis throughout is on the 'society', not the individual. 'Archaeology' deals with the results of human actions, the embodiments of human thoughts and purposes. Whose? Of course, 'societies'—groups of individuals inspired by common purposes and needs and guided by a common tradition to their satisfaction'. Similarly, archaeological types 'are just creations of individuals that have been approved, adopted and objectified by some society'. The truth that evolution, whether of types or of societies, is a process of divergence or differentiation, often modified by convergence, is illustrated and driven home. 'A winged axe, a Northern palstav, and a Bohemian palstav is each an improvement on the flat celt, but along divergent lines. All three in the end had to give place to the socketed celt.' The discussion of the relations between cultures in chapter 7, with its caution about the highly subjective interpretations on 'political' lines, is a model of clarity and good sense. It is unnecessary to multiply examples. Every word in these few short chapters tells; the whole text must be read—and re-read—by the student.

C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

*A History of the Giza Necropolis. Volume II. The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops.* By GEORGE ANDREW REISNER. Completed and revised by WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH.  $13\frac{1}{2} + 10\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. xxv + 107 + figs. 148 + pls. 55. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955. \$25.

This second volume of the History of the Giza Necropolis is of more than usual interest, as it

is entirely devoted to the unique discovery of the tomb of the mother of Khufu (Cheops), the builder of the Great Pyramid. Intact private burials of the Eighteenth and later dynasties are not uncommon, and there have been several instances of royal tombs still containing well-preserved grave-gifts, but this Fourth Dynasty queen antedates them by over a thousand years. The pit beside the Great Pyramid Causeway was not her original tomb, which still awaits discovery, but is the secret secondary grave to which her complete burial equipment had been removed for safety quite soon after her funeral.

The present volume demonstrates the skill and patience of the late Dr. Reisner's excavation methods. The tomb itself was discovered in 1925, and it took 321 working days to complete the removal of the contents, while the treatment, reconstruction, and restoration of the fragments extended over a number of years. The restored objects, now in the Cairo Museum with replicas in Boston, include a bed and canopy complete with poles, a decorated curtain-box, gold-cased and inlaid armchairs, and boxes containing silver bracelets and toilet articles, all superb examples of the amazing beauty of design and craftsmanship of the material culture of the period, supplementing in the most satisfactory manner the representations of such objects in tomb-chapel reliefs already known to us.

Dr. W. S. Smith was assistant to Dr. Reisner from 1930, and himself took part in the later stages of the work on the Hetep-heres material. He is also an expert on the art and archaeology of the Old Kingdom, having worked for many years in the vast necropolis of the contemporary officials which surrounds the Giza Pyramids, and he has taken this opportunity to give us a valuable account of the chief personalities who formed the background of this ancient queen-mother. For the specialist there are useful appendices concerning types of pottery and alabaster vessels, which formed a considerable part of the queen's treasure. The whole volume is a model of what such books should be, and it is perhaps ungrateful to ask for anything more, but a coloured illustration of the curtain-box (pls. 11-13) would have been a very welcome addition to the excellent photographs and drawings.

R. L. B. Moss

*Documenta archaeologica Wolfgang La Baume dedicata.* 8. ii. 1955. Edited by O. KLEEMAN. 12×8. Pp. 144+7 figs., 34 pls. and a map. Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1956. Price not stated.

La Baume was for many years Director of the Museum at Danzig and later Head of the Prehistoric Service at Königsberg (Kaliningrad). This volume contains a curriculum vitae and bibliography with articles on antiquities from the old German province of West Prussia, which became Polish in 1918, Danzig, and East Prussia, which remained German till the end of the Second World War. The immense loss of objects and records from this area renders the publication of surviving relics doubly useful.

Two contributions deal with amber of the neolithic and early metal ages; Bohnsack lists a miscellaneous collection in private possession and Šturm's the finds belonging to the eastern amphora culture. The other early finds published are corded-ware vessels from Succase, now in Freiburg (Kilian), metal and pottery finds in the Museums of Coburg and Hamm (Kleeman), and an illustrated list of socketed axes and neckrings from West Prussia (Šturm). Three hundred and sixty out of an original 1,000 denarii found in a hoard at Ossa, deposited in c. A.D. 200, are catalogued by P. La Baume, who compares the composition of the hoard with that found at Zoppot. Graves of the late fourth or fifth century from Masuria and of the seventh to eleventh century from Samland are described by Kleeman in reports which give a rather fuller picture of the circumstances of discovery; the latter group are horse burials with early examples of stirrups. Kuhn contributes an exhaustive and well-illustrated survey of the Masurian fibulae

of the sixth and seventh centuries; concluding that the culture, of which they are characteristic, was that of the Heruli, who withdrew northwards after their defeat in 505. Paulsen discusses the interaction of Viking and eastern influences on the swords of the tenth to twelfth century found on the eastern shores of the Baltic.

C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

*Stonehenge*. By R. J. C. ATKINSON.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. ix + 210, with 8 figs. and 25 pls. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1956. 16s.

Stonehenge is one of the most remarkable prehistoric monuments in Western Europe, and it must be considered the most remarkable prehistoric monument when one gives weight not only to its impressive size and appearance but also to the remarkable craftsmanship which it exhibits. Prior to 1901 there was already a bibliography of over 900 items; several hundred further items have in the meantime been added to the list. In view of this, it is necessary in the first instance to emphasize that the book under review is amply justified because many of the previous publications were ephemeral, dealt only with aspects of the subject or are out of date. Two recent developments give further justification for Mr. Atkinson's book—the first is the discovery in 1953 of the carvings of Mycenaean-type daggers and bronze axes on the stones at Stonehenge; the second is provided by the recent excavations carried out by Mr. Atkinson, Professor Piggott, and their colleagues and by the new outlook on the early cultures of the area, which, to such a large degree, has been the result of the work of these same prehistorians. This new outlook has meant the appreciation of the different cultural influences which went to the building of Stonehenge and also of the contacts with the higher cultures of the Mediterranean—something which tends to give precision to the chronology and understanding of the background against which we must view the monument. The discovery of the carvings was not only an important addition to our knowledge but also an astounding example of the psychology of observation. Over the centuries hoards of visitors had looked at Stonehenge and had never seen these carvings until one day Mr. Atkinson, in the course of his photographic survey of the site, discovered them.

The attractiveness of this book is added to by a discussion which reaches beyond the cold facts and speculates on the details of the building, the source of the inspiration and the social conditions which enabled this gigantic monument to be erected. In this Mr. Atkinson has been helped by an experiment carried out in connexion with a B.B.C. television programme; a model of one of the blue stones was floated along the River Avon and pulled over the plain—the necessary muscular effort being provided by groups of schoolboys. This enables one to realize the feasibility of transporting these stones from the Prescelly Hills but does not take from our awe and wonder at the achievement, and we still have to realize that the sarsen stones are much heavier and had to be transported a considerable distance.

Stonehenge gives an example of prehistoric stone-working which is unequalled anywhere in Western Europe. The precision and the method of working the stone are admirably dealt with by Mr. Atkinson and are illustrated by excellent photographs which illustrate not only the architectural character of the Stonehenge monument but also the various stages of grooving and smoothing by which the dressed faces of the stones have been obtained.

Mr. Atkinson's book will be gratefully received not only by the general public for whom, he says, it was primarily written but also by specialists who will be glad to have conveniently assembled all the essential information regarding Stonehenge—its structure, the sequence of its construction, the techniques employed, the cultural background of its builders, and a summary of previous thought and writing on the subject. Its publication should lead not only to a better understanding of Stonehenge but also to a fuller appreciation of its wonders of craftsmanship—for which the more intelligent visitor must continue to thank the author heartily.

SÉAN P. Ó RIORDÁIN

*History and Archaeology in Africa.* Report of a conference held in July 1953 at the School of Oriental & African Studies. Ed. by R. A. HAMILTON, with a foreword by Professor C. H. PHILIPS.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ . Pp. 99. School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, 1955.

The first international conference on the history and archaeology of Africa was held in the summer of 1953 in the School of Oriental and African Studies. It formed a supplement to the familiar congresses on African prehistory. For though many of the papers start 1,500 years ago much of the material discussed was more recent since one of the aims of the conference had been to correlate the evidence of archaeology and oral tradition. No recent conference has been more stimulating or more constructive. Partly this may have been due to accidental factors, the organizing ability of Dr. Roland Oliver, the dynamism of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, the calm presidency of Professor Philips, but primarily it came from the consciousness that the conference marked the official opening of a new continent to historic archaeology.

Inevitably much has been omitted in the 95 pages of the Report. The four most important papers, those of M. Mauny and M. Monod, Mr. Arkell and Professor Lawrence, are only printed in précis, the liveliness of the discussion is lost in its brief summary. Some significant contributions have been omitted, like that of Mr. Bradford on the use of aerial photography. But it has been very carefully edited and printed at a fantastically low price with an admirable preface, an invaluable bibliography and good maps. All Africanists now owe a further debt to the School of Oriental and African Studies.

GERVASE MATHEW

*Préhistoire de l'Afrique, Tome premier: Le Maghreb.* By RAYMOND VAUFREY.  $11 \times 9$ . Pp. 458 + 60 pls. and 223 figs. Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis, vol. iv. Librairie Masson et Cie., Paris, 1955. n.p.

We have long known that the feeling prevalent in Britain that French prehistoric researches generally, and reports particularly, called for overhaul and bringing into line with present-day methods, has been shared and expressed in no uncertain way by the author of this admirable survey of the prehistory of a large part of North Africa. Despite the immensity of the territory studied, Professor Vaufrey has not flinched before the task imposed by a consideration of its Stone Age industries ranging in time from before the second glaciation (Mindel in the Alps) to an early expression of the Neolithic complex in the Holocene. The result is a beautiful and imposing volume that, apart from its paper covers, ranks with any of the archaeological treatises issued recently from British university presses and printing houses of like standing. Truly, the author has made sure that his publishers should give very real effect to what he himself has advocated for years. We may be certain that, if left to Professor Vaufrey, the standard he has set will be maintained in the seven volumes intended to follow this on the Maghreb, six dealing with well-defined regions and one with the prehistoric art of the African continent. Thus, he will seek to uphold the hypothesis that, as it moved farther southward from the Mediterranean, stone-using culture progressed at an ever-decreasing rate, and finally reached South Africa where it persisted until last century.

The author has done us and archaeology a great service by collecting into this book what is known of the Stone Age and all its associations in the three expanses of North Africa, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, that form the Arabs' *Djezirat el Maghreb*, self-contained like an island between the Atlas Mountains and the sea. How scrupulously he has done this appears from a list of no less than 332 titles in a bibliography to which can be added a large number of literary references in footnotes. Seventy years have passed since the first report was made on Lower Palaeolithic remains in Tunisia. Before 1902 Constantine in eastern Algeria made no showing as the field of archaeological promise that has since been so amply fulfilled. In the central part especially, by the turn of the century good work had been done. Around Oran in the west, how-

ever, prehistoric sites were being explored in 1890. As far back as 1875 a cave near Cape Spartel in Morocco had already been recognized as a habitat of early man. The pioneers were geologists, by whose disciplined outlook and conduct of inquiry a tradition was established. To this is no doubt due the fact that from the time archaeologists began to investigate they have on the whole pursued inquiries and recorded with commendable scientific application. Behind all this, too, for many years have been the university schools and collaboration with workers in allied realms of research, as well as the supervision exercised by qualified and competent territorial inspectors of antiquities.

Of the seven chapters of the book, only one is concerned with the Lower Palaeolithic. However, it is not solely an industrial and typological review, for it also treats extensively of the terrestrial and maritime features in a clear exposition of the geology of the three areas comprised in the Maghreb. Two chapters are devoted to the Capsian culture in the vast range of its blade industries from the equivalent of south-western European Upper Palaeolithic onwards. Every facies of its growth and peak, and transitional characteristic at its inception and decline, is examined minutely. Another chapter surveys the early Neolithic with all its included survivals from the decaying Capsian, from which it is not easily differentiated save for the new pottery element. All this descriptive matter is placed between two chapters, one, at the beginning, introductory and historical, the other, and last, enumerating the very remarkable and abundant Pleistocene vertebrate and invertebrate fauna represented at sites and in deposits of all the cultural stages considered. By comparison, the section on the flora, as represented by charcoal in Capsian shell-heaps (*escargotières*) in Tunisia and the Oran district, is short owing to the loss during the last war of most of the materials sent to Nancy for identification. In dealing with his subject, Professor Vaufrey has in all the archaeological chapters first considered separately each of the three territorial constituents of the Maghreb. He has thus been able to place most appropriately all descriptions of sites and industries. A section concluding the chapter usefully summarizes the author's findings over the whole of the ground.

Throughout, the volume is brilliantly illustrated, but it is a pity no list is included of the 223 figures and sixty plates. Expectedly, most of the line-drawings are of stone artifacts. These may glut some readers, especially when so many Capsian industries are shown as to seem excessive, the more that tabulated analyses so often accompany descriptions. Such a sense of surfeit, however, ought to be dispelled by a study of the artists' techniques that enable us to distinguish so easily quartzite from flint and bone from shell. The maps of adequate number conform generally. None can fail to be impressed by the beauty and extraordinary clarity of the plates. Great interest of course attaches to the pictures of the African scenes, features and settings. The merit of the plates, however, lies in their showing so well human skulls and such antiquities as small bone objects, beads, and ornaments. Their quality also causes one to realize that prehistoric imagery incised on stone and other surfaces is best and most accurately represented with the aid of modern photographic processes.

As a veritable museum, this book will certainly be of the greatest help to geologists, pre-historians and anthropologists, all of whom must find it a mine of information on North African Stone Age industries and their associations, for the most part until now unfamiliar or even unknown to students here. It is, therefore, very welcome, and its author, besides deserving our gratitude, is to be congratulated on an invaluable compilation that does credit to the publishers and all concerned with its production.

A. D. LACAILLE

*Chugach Prehistory: the archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska.* By FREDERICA DE LAGUNA. 10½×7½. Pp. xiii+289. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956. \$6.50.

Of all the areas inhabited by the Eskimos, Prince William Sound in South-West Alaska is one

of the most favourable, with its abundant supply of wood and the availability of land animals for hunting. Dr. de Laguna took part in expeditions there in 1930 and 1933, and shared the leadership of the second with Dr. Birket-Smith of Copenhagen. He directed the ethnological work on the Chugach, and she studied the archaeological sites of their forebears.

Caves, middens, and pictographs were studied, and one midden with a thickness of about 8 feet of deposit was completely excavated. Four periods were distinguished, Older and Younger Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic, but they showed little change in culture, and it does not appear that the oldest is of any great age. The Protohistoric period is that of Cook and the other early voyagers, and the culture is discussed in the light of his writings and of ethnological studies.

The report has been long delayed; it is a competent and detailed piece of work, and is well illustrated. It gives a picture of an Eskimo people, who owing to position and environment are and have been rather exceptional in the degree in which they share the culture of the North-West Coast Indians, especially in their use of wood. It will be of great interest to specialists in the Eskimo field.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

*Severisches Relief in Palazzo Sacchetti.* Von LUDWIG BUDDE. 11 x 8*½*. Pp. viii + 72 + Taf. 15. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1955. DM. 24.

This highly interesting work arises out of the author's studies of the portraits of the youthful Caracalla and Geta. It describes a relief of great interest, somewhat damaged in post-Roman times, but also twice defaced in Roman days, after the fall of Plautianus and the murder of Geta respectively. Its recognition as a Severan piece is due to the veteran scholar, A. J. B. Wace, but Dr. Budde takes the matter much farther, and is able to fix the subject of the relief convincingly as the presentation by Severus of Caracalla and Geta as consuls on New Year's Day, A.D. 205. The official party, with Severus sitting at their head, are stationed upon a *suggestus*, in a setting composed of a façade and Triumphal Arch, ingeniously identified by the author as the Arch of Titus, through which a procession of senators approaches. The scene thus lies at the very doors of the Imperial Palace, with all the implications concerning the dynastic aims of Severus and his relationship to the Senate which the selection of that spot carries with it for propaganda. The identification of Papinian's figure upon the *suggestus* fits well his relationship to Geta. Even more interesting, were it true, would be the suggestion that the defaced figures of senators were Geta's supporters. Here is a dilemma. The author argues that Papinian, though Geta's friend, received no *damnatio* and therefore survives; while his senatorial supporters, certainly not more powerful than Papinian, suffered defacement. This seems in some degree illogical. It in no way mars, however, the many valuable things said about Severan art, or detracts from the interest of the convincing excursus on the Severan *fercula*.

I. A. RICHMOND

*Basel in römischer Zeit.* Von RUDOLF FELLMANN. 11*½* x 8*½*. Pp. 141. Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag (= Monographien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz, Band 10), 1955. 28.10 Swiss francs.

This is an excellent study, by a pupil of Professor Laur-Belart (who has done so much himself for the study of Roman Switzerland); it incorporates some of the latter's own discoveries, and includes a section contributed by Professor Vogt (pp. 90-117), dealing with the material from his excavations in 1928. Roman Basel is of particular interest for its early period and for its late Roman development as a key-point in frontier defence, with a strong fort crowning the hill on which the medieval minster now stands. Dr. Fellmann's report is clear and methodical, particularly valuable for its treatment of the pottery and other small finds, which include a rich series of Augustan and later first-century material and some very useful pottery and glass of the fourth

century; a well of the latter period yielded sufficient of its bucket to permit a reconstruction (p. 140). Altogether the report does great credit to the Swiss Prehistoric Society, which has included it in its series of monographs, and to the 'Pro Augusta Raurica' Foundation and the Canton of Basel-Stadt, which contributed to the cost of its publication.

E. BIRLEY

*Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World*. By EDWIN R. GOODENOUGH. 4 vols. 12 x 9. Vol. i. The Archaeological evidence from Palestine. Pp xvii + 300. Vol. ii. The archaeological evidence from the Diaspora. Pp. xi + 323. Vol. iii. Pp. xxxv + 10 + figs. 1209. Vol. iv. The Problem of Method. Symbols from Jewish Cult. Pp. xiii + 229 + figs. 117. New York: Bollingen Series XXXVII: Pantheon Books, 1953-4.

It is a common fallacy to consider Judaism as practised by the great majority of its followers in Graeco-Roman times as akin to rabbinic Judaism as codified later in the Talmud, or, worse still, as a kind of puritanic bibliolatry, based exclusively on the books of the Old Testament, if not in the original texts (the percentage of Jews reading Hebrew is probably even greater today than it was in those times), at least in the Septuagint version. The author, Professor of the History of Religions at Yale University, and well known from previous studies on Philo of Alexandria, finds that we come nearer to the truth if we accept the prevalent hellenized Judaism as one of the many mystery religions of the Hellenistic and Roman world and as such making extensive use of what he calls the *lingua franca* of these mystery religions, their pictorial symbols. The elaborate iconography of the synagogue of Dura Europos and of those excavated by Sukenik in Palestine and Greece came as something of a shock for those who took the Mosaic ban on images as an integral element of Judaic religion. But these were only a few instances from a wealth of monuments which Goodenough has collected and undertakes to interpret in seven monumental, but very readable, volumes. The four that have been published so far are magnificently printed and illustrated, like all the publications of the Bollingen Foundation. Vol. i, after setting out the problem and the literary evidence, deals with the archaeological monuments from Palestine (tombs and their contents, synagogues, Jewish coins). Vol. ii assembles the archaeological evidence from the Diaspora, devoting a large section to charms and amulets. Vol. iii contains the illustrations to vols. i-ii, reproducing 1209 objects, and provides (in addition to the thorough indexes in both these volumes) two further indexes, one of motifs of Jewish art generally and one of designs on amulets. Actually half of Vol. ii and a fifth of the illustrations are devoted to the evaluation of charms and amulets, for which the late Campbell Bonner's fundamental and unsurpassed work (cf. this *Journal*, xxxii, 1952, p. 83) provided a basis. But while Bonner grudgingly admitted a certain amount of Jewish influence in these monuments of Graeco-Roman magic, Goodenough rightly stresses (although sometimes overstates) the essentially Jewish character of very many of them. Even if fully subscribing to his general conclusions as set out in vol. ii, pp. 289-95, one will not always approve details of his argumentation, which is weakened also by the fact that he includes in his material not only reproductions of known originals (among them a gratifying number of hitherto unpublished ones from the collections in the British Museum and in Jerusalem), but also reproductions from old publications and among them many more or less obviously later fakes. In vol. iv, after discussing problems of method and trying to clarify the meaning of symbolism and symbols generally, the author deals one by one with each of the liturgical symbols of Judaism (Menorah, Thora Shrine, Lulab and Ethrog, Shofar, and Incense Shovel); a further 117 illustrations and thorough indexes conclude this volume. Goodenough writes in a highly personal, unpretentious, and uninhibited vein which makes for enjoyable and interesting reading, even if one does not agree with some of the details or general tendencies. He makes a strong plea against separating *religion* from *magic*, which latter he calls

'a term of judgment, not of classification' (ii, 159). But I personally think that religion, like food, easily turns bad, even poisonous, and that it is at this stage where magic begins. I furthermore do not share his belief in psycho-analytical tenets, being aware, however, that a majority of readers will be on his side: psycho-analysis appears to assume in our century a similar role—as a kind of bridge between the religious-emotional and the 'scientific' outlook—to that which astrology played in the centuries dealt with by Goodenough. His interpretation of the abundant astrological symbols is promised for one of the later volumes. These, which we hope to see soon, will no doubt give an opportunity to print a list of Errata and Addenda. Minor errors are, of course, unavoidable in a work of this scope. I noted from vol. ii: p. 269 (and again p. 273) 'Isis and *Hathor*' (should be 'Isis and *Nephthys*'); p. 221 'the stone of fig. 1030' (should be *lead*); p. 287 '*Abras Iaō*' reads really (as the illustration shows) '*Arbas Iaō*' (not quite irrelevant, as *Arbas* might be hellenized Hebrew for what was meant by the Greek 'TETRAGRAMMATON'); the amulet fig. 1198 (cf. p. 287, n. 585), reproduced after Montfaucon, is obviously identical with the original in Geneva, published by Deonna (and again reproduced by Bonner, *loc. cit.*, pl. xxiv, fig. 5). As regards Addenda new archaeological finds (e.g. the Catacomb of Beth Shearim, see *Ill. London News*, 7th January 1956) and the new literary evidence from the now gradually accessible Qumrân scrolls could furnish valuable further material for a work, which is already—and will be so much more, when finished—an indispensable standard work for many disciplines.

A. A. BARB

*Das fränkische Gräberfeld Köln-Mungersdorf.* Von FRITZ FREMERSDORF. (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit VI.) 9×12. Pp. xii+169, with 140 pls. in separate volume. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1955. DM. 150.

This is the full report on the Frankish cemetery of Mungersdorf, some 4 miles west of the centre of Cologne. The cemetery, which was completely excavated, contained 149 graves, covering rather more than 100 years (before 550—after 650); it therefore indicates a small settlement of 10 or 11 houses. Graves and grave goods are admirably illustrated and described and the various types of burial are carefully classified. Considered simply as an objective record of an important and carefully excavated cemetery the report would deserve the highest praise.

But Dr. Fremersdorf has not been content to give us a simple publication of the cemetery. He has also provided a succinct account of other Frankish burials in the region of Cologne, together with a well balanced discussion of the many problems raised by an excavation of this type. Two instances must suffice to illustrate the breadth of his range.

A detailed consideration of the plan of the cemetery and the placing of the individual graves demonstrates the inadmissibility of the term 'Reihengräberfeld'. As on other carefully excavated sites, the graves fall into small groups, often of poorer graves centred on one or more rich burials. The suggested connexion of the groups with the families, the dependants being buried alongside the free Frank, is likely to command general assent.

The accuracy with which early tomb robbers were able to locate and remove the more valuable jewellery implies a continuing knowledge of the exact layout of the graves and therefore a memorial probably in the form of a wooden post. This is a factor that has received too little attention.

Largely owing to the war, we have waited nearly a generation for the full publication of this cemetery. The thoroughness and excellence of the final report goes far to reconcile scholars to this delay, but it is sad to know that most of the material no longer survives.

C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

*Vallhagar: A Migration Period settlement on Gotland, Sweden.* Ed. MÅRTEN STENBERGER in collaboration with OLE KLINT-JENSEN.  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ , 2 vols. Pp. 1205 + figs. (incl. plates) 523 and 4 folding plans. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaards Forlag, 1955. £10. 10s.

The excavations at Vallhagar were carried out from 1946 to 1950 in pursuance of a project initiated by Dr. Stenberger by which all Scandinavian countries should combine in starting post-war Scandinavian archaeology with a major excavation. Students from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland took part. In 1947 four English students were invited to join the dig, and Germany and Estonia were also represented.

The site of Vallhagar, which lies on the west coast of Gotland, was chosen because, among other advantages, it represents what is probably the largest group of remains of the Scandinavian Iron Age. The remains included buildings, cemeteries, field-walls or 'vastar', two hill-forts and other features, thus providing considerable variety, and the site raised problems which had been occupying the attention of Scandinavian archaeologists for some time.

The datable finds from the settlement, one of small rectangular stone-built dwelling- and out-houses, show that its occupation can be confined to a period of about 500 years, from the early Roman Iron Age to the middle of the Migration Period (c. A.D. 500-50). It was a settled farming community, chiefly concerned with animal husbandry, and carrying on its agriculture in small rectangular fields enclosed by the stone walls known as 'vastar', which were such a feature of the site. The village had enough economic resources to import foreign articles, for the finds show connexions with Norway, the Baltic area, and the northern part of the European continent.

The abandonment of the site in the early sixth century can be paralleled by other Gotland sites, and the editor discusses the reason for this at considerable length, agreeing finally with the view that, at this date, there was a period of considerable disturbance in northern Europe due to war. No adequate solution could be advanced as to why the site was never reoccupied.

None of the three large cemeteries lying outside the main settlement appeared to coincide with it in date, but they showed that there had been extensive settlement in the area from the late Bronze Age to the Vendel period.

Those responsible for the excavation of the separate buildings and other sites have written their own reports for these volumes. Each piece of excavation has been clearly recorded and illustrated. Moreover, no detail has been omitted in the way of specialized reports, comparative material and discussions on the significance of the site in all its various aspects. It is a most impressive publication, and the editor is to be congratulated both on the conception and carrying out of the excavation and on the production of the report. A word of praise, too, to two of the English students taking part in the excavation, Messrs. John Eames and Stanley Thomas, to whom fell the arduous task of making the English translation.

JOAN R. CLARKE

*An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England.* By P. HUNTER BLAIR.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. xvi + 382: 16 pls. and 9 maps. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1956. 30s.

To compose in less than four hundred pages an account of the whole Anglo-Saxon period that shall be both comprehensive and readable is a task presenting formidable difficulties. Its successful performance demands from the author not only a wide and detailed knowledge of six centuries of English history (a period as long as that which separates us from the reign of Edward III) but an unerring judgement in the selection of material and in the balance and emphasis employed in its presentation. That Mr. Hunter Blair has an extensive knowledge of his subject, to which indeed he has made important contributions, goes without saying: it is apparent on every page of this book, which contains throughout much useful information not assembled in this convenient form elsewhere. That it is none the less a somewhat disappointing book is due in part

to a flat and undistinguished style of writing and in part to peculiarities in the choice and arrangement of the material and in the emphasis laid on different parts of it.

Some of these peculiarities can certainly be defended. It may well be right to dispose of the whole political history of six centuries in one hundred and fifteen pages, less than a third of the book, though there does seem a certain lack of balance in devoting nearly a quarter of this space to the ninety years from the accession of Æthelred the Unready to the landing of William the Conqueror. It is curious that in the middle of the oddly old-fashioned account of the conversion to Christianity there should be inserted a section on Anglo-Saxon heathenism (pp. 120-4) which contains no reference whatever to the evidence for the nature of pagan beliefs and practices which can be derived from a study of the abundant grave-goods of the pre-Christian cemeteries. In the section on Local Government (pp. 222-44) a full account of the shires (pp. 223-31) contains no mention of the Burghal Hidage or the County Hidage, surely essential documents for an understanding of their evolution: nor is there anything in the discussion of the Hundreds (pp. 232-8) to indicate awareness of the connexion between their growing importance in the tenth century and the administrative reforms consequent on the contemporary monastic revival with its emphasis on local jurisdictions. It is not until all the familiar units of shire, hundred, wapentake, ward, riding, and rape have been considered that we reach three pages (pp. 241-4) on Primitive Divisions dealing (strangely without a mention of the Tribal Hidage) with the underlying archaic structure of the *regio*, *provincia*, *folk*, or *ge*, which represents the earliest recorded stage of Anglo-Saxon society.

Other instances could be quoted of this disconcerting habit of putting first things last. Elsewhere the reader may be puzzled by the amount of detail offered him, for example in the elaborate descriptions of certain important Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Is it really necessary to remember, for instance, that the 116 folios of the Caedmon manuscript have been paginated from 1 to 229 in modern times (p. 335), or even that there are 3,182 lines in *Beowulf*? Too often the dry bones of the lecture notebook seem visible beneath the printed page.

The maps, especially that illustrating the early Anglo-Saxon settlements (p. 23), are below the standard of presentation now rightly expected in a serious work of scholarship. Vermiform mountains execute extraordinary contortions on Exmoor and in southern Scotland: there is no scale: and cemeteries are indicated by diagonal strokes from south-east to north-west anything up to thirty miles long, and -ingas names by strokes of similar dimensions running from south-west to north-east; the results are grotesque. The book is not wholly free from misprints. Hampshire and Dorset do not share a joint Field Club (p. viii): and the author of *Sculpture in England: The Middle Ages* (1955) is not A. Stone but L. Stone (p. 367).

J. N. L. MYRES

*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154.* Vol. ii, 1100-1135. Edited by CHARLES JOHNSON, C.B.E., F.B.A., and H. A. CRONNE, from the collections of the late H. W. C. DAVIS. 11 x 7½. Pp. xlvi + 454. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1956. £5. 5s.

The first volume of the present work was published in 1913; and the editors have used not only the materials left by Professor Davis, but those in the *Itinerary of Henry I* prepared for the *English Historical Review* in 1919 by William Farrer, to whom they pay a handsome tribute. To these they have added many extracts from manuscript sources hitherto unexplored and several original charters.

The Introduction, following the pattern in the first volume, contains deductions of the greatest value. After a detailed examination of the chancery and royal household, there are several examples suggesting that various administrative and legal practices, usually regarded as originating in the reign of Henry II, had their germ in that of his grandfather. As in England claims to

advowsons in Normandy were tried in a lay court; and it is suggested that sometimes witnesses to a royal charter were not necessarily present, but were chosen from those who might subsequently contest its effect. The list of original charters, including spurious or doubtful ones, numbers 180; and certain others might be added, e.g. nos. 668, 1002, 1433, 1547, 1650, 1946, and 1983. But the total includes some in the archives of La Manche, disastrously destroyed at St-Lô. Two charters of St-Étienne, Caen, sold from the Stapleton MSS. in 1920, have not been located.

The Calendar itself contains more than 1,500 entries relating to both England and Normandy. They include several issued by Queen Matilda, who had her own chancellor and court and acted as regent during the king's absences, and by William their son, some of whose charters have been assigned previously to William II. The admirable notes are the result of the widest possible research. In many entries the extreme limits of date are given with suggestions for greater precision. The Appendix gives the texts of about 330 instruments not already in print. Several come from the valuable series of transcripts from Norman records at the Public Record Office, and other manuscripts not used for vol. i, especially the Battle Abbey MSS., those in the Huntington Library and Lincoln's Inn sometimes giving mutually independent material. A suggestion may be offered that a marginal note in the Calendar referring to the relevant text printed in the Appendix would be helpful. There follows a long list of amendments and additions to vol. i, with over 60 additional entries for the Calendar, 18 texts being printed in full, and several alterations in place-name identification.

Having regard to the wealth of material it is inevitable that one or two matters may require further consideration. Thus in no. 1464, a gift to a certain Robert fitzPayn of land held by his uncle Everard, the insertion of [fitzJohn] after the latter's name cannot be correct, and is evidently due to Dugdale's confused account of the origin of the baronial family of FitzPayn; and the names and chronology of the early abbots of St. Mary's, York, given in the Index and based on the St. Mary's Chronicle, which is untrustworthy on the point, are subject to amendment, for certainly the abbot in no. 1752 was *Gaufridus* and not Godfrey, Geoffrey being duly recognized in nos. 1557 and 1253 n. But these are trivial points; and the gratitude due to the editors of the volume by modern historians, whose researches take them to the reign of Henry I for many aspects of English and Norman history, cannot be overestimated.

CHARLES CLAY

*A History of fortification from 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1700.* By SIDNEY TOY. 9×6. Pp. xxiii+262. London: Heinemann, 1955. 30s.

Mr. Toy's latest volume is doubly welcome, being a new, revised edition of his *Castles: A short history of fortification from 1600 B.C. to A.D. 1600*, published in 1939 and long out of print. Valuable additions, notably of the Crusader castles, have been made to the original text, but the new title is not entirely justified. After a substantial, but not greatly expanded, section on antiquity, the bulk of the book deals with medieval castles as before, while the seventeenth century in particular, though now included in the title, scarcely obtains a mention. Nevertheless, praise is due to the bold purview of a work which covers most of Europe and the Middle East, with occasional sorties even farther afield. Time and again the more provincial reader will profit from the cosmopolitan comparisons of Mr. Toy, as when the English Queenborough, with its circular design, is set beside the Castello de Bellver in Majorca and the Château de Montaner, Hautes-Pyrénées (pp. 174-5).

This is principally an architectural study, and one may question first if such a treatment of the subject will suffice. Architecture is a means to an end; buildings cannot be fully understood without reference to their historical context and the needs they sought to meet. History tends

to be stripped from Mr. Toy's fortresses like ivy from an Ancient Monument. For example, little is said of the feudal society which produced the castle, or of the changing conditions causing its decline, and, being treated mainly in its military aspect (p. xxii), the castle is cut off from much reality. As one smaller instance, it is irritating to read of Edwardian castles in Wales without mention of the conquest of Wales which was their great occasion. Within its own terms of reference, also, the book is open to criticism on two main points. First, its method is chiefly that of a series of descriptions of individual works, and this is not the best method to explain development. Second, doubtless in the tradition of 'Castle Clark', insufficient use is made of record evidence, which will often furnish precise dates (and much else besides), or provide authentic standards of reference for ill-recorded buildings. Not all Mr. Toy's dates, in fact, agree entirely with recent research. A protest must also be lodged against the dangerous argument *ex silentio* touching the date at which the keep at Château-Gaillard was completed (p. 130).

Yet this latest product of a life-long study (much of it refreshingly in the field), accumulated knowledge and great technical resource, makes a most interesting book and a valuable compendium for reference. Mr. Toy's enviable facility in producing his own excellent plans gives, as always, a special distinction to his work. The plates, though their subjects are well chosen, are sometimes less pleasing in appearance—though the author who takes his photographs for himself deserves a sympathetic cheer. Both author and publisher are further to be congratulated on relating, both by subject and arrangement, all the illustrations to the text.

R. ALLEN BROWN

*The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.* By J. C. DICKINSON.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. xiii + 160. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1956. 18s.

Mr. Dickinson has followed a study of *The Origin of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (1950) with an admirable monograph on the monastery of Austin Canons of Walsingham. Excavations on the site more than a hundred years ago, hindered by trees, have lately been supplemented by an air photograph which has revealed very closely much of the foundations of the church and cloister (pl. 3a). The ground plan has been drawn with the help of the measurements of the buildings made in 1479 by the Oxford scholar and antiquary, William Worcester, and some documentary evidence. It shows the position of the shrine on the north side of the nave, the inner chapel believed to be the little building c. 1130 by Richelde of Fervaques: possibly intended to reproduce the Holy House at Nazareth, the scene of the Annunciation. In the little chapel was a statue of Our Lady of Walsingham, seated with the Holy Child, of later date in the twelfth century than the chapel, which was subsequently enclosed in a larger building. Mr. Dickinson has attributed the fame of the shrine to the visits of Henry III and Edward I. Pilgrims brought wealth to the priory, and it appears that the church was rebuilt in the late fourteenth century. There was no question of making any provision for the people of Walsingham in the priory church. There were three parish churches, All Saints and St. Peter's, Great Walsingham, and All Saints, Little Walsingham, all appropriated to the prior and canons before 1254. Lists of canons from 1384 to 1538, entered in the cartulary of the priory, are printed in an Appendix and record some facts of interest in the building and decoration of the priory church, and a separate building for the library in the fifteenth century; only four manuscripts and the cartulary are known to have survived. The seals and several pilgrim badges are described and illustrated. The long ballad of Walsingham, printed by Richard Pynson c. 1491, is printed in full from a unique copy in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

ROSE GRAHAM

*English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century.* By E. W. TRISTRAM. Edited by Eileen Tristram, with a catalogue compiled in collaboration with Monica Bardswell. 10 x 7½. Pp. xii + 312, with 64 pages of plates. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. 50s.

This book, largely by the late Professor Tristram or worked up from his notes and posthumously published, continues, in a more modest form, his monumental volumes on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It must therefore be considered as more in the nature of a memorial volume.

The smaller size, more convenient format, and more reasonable price are a distinct advantage over the other sumptuous but unwieldy and impossibly expensive works, even in spite of the Pilgrim Trust's generous subsidizing of the others. There is a great need for a general work on English wall paintings for the not too technical reader, a thing which has never been produced except for J. C. Wall's admirable little pocket volume which has been out of print for many years.

The scheme of the book consists of a first part devoted to a discussion of fourteenth-century painting in general—its technique, stylistic characteristics, the documentary sources for its subject matter, and individual groups or types of paintings, such as the Westminster atelier, the allegories and moralities and paintings which are described as 'of the more "elaborate", and of the "simpler" type'. This is followed by a second part which includes the catalogue, and seven appendixes and an index most of which could more conveniently have been combined into two or three lists. Then follow sixty-four pages of plates, a fine series; and one is pleased to see that a few photographs of the actual paintings are included, the rest being from Professor Tristram's drawings.

That one man should have covered so much ground in the field of wall painting in England is indeed a remarkable achievement and a worthy memorial. It is also something of a condemnation of our lack of interest, appreciation, and knowledge of this national medieval art that hardly anyone else enters the scene until the last twenty or thirty years, and that so few photographic copies or other records exist to supplement or check Professor Tristram's own work. In fact a large number of copies and photographs of paintings do exist elsewhere, but they are not mentioned. This must therefore be treated as a purely personal work. It is easy to criticize the pioneer, or be wise in the light of more up-to-date knowledge. But it must be remembered that it is thanks to Professor Tristram almost solely that appreciation of English medieval wall painting is now firmly established. Not only is his own artistic appreciation shown in this book, but also his wide 'background knowledge' of the whole setting, so often lacking in the more precise specialist.

It is interesting to read that, beyond noticing a decline in quality in humbler paintings after the Black Death of 1349/50, Professor Tristram does not subscribe to the once popular view that the plague caused a complete suspension of activities or a break in tradition. An increase is however noticeable, as he points out, in the morality or warning pictures that are such an interesting and characteristic feature of English wall painting in the fourteenth and also the fifteenth century.

One of his most interesting chapters is in fact that on the Allegories and Moralities. It is surprising to see that he still clings to his interpretation of the 'Tool Pictures' as Christ as Piers Plowman, or at least having a wider interpretation than merely that of a warning against Sabbath-breaking. This may well be so to a limited extent: we know that the first illustration of the Poem of the Three Living and Three Dead, in the Arundel Psalter, became in later wall painting a mere visual memory, pictorial and not descriptive of the French poem which would surely be as unknown to a Cornish peasant as the verse of William Langland. He goes on to say that 'on account of one or two other inscriptions found abroad', it has been assumed that Sabbath-breaking is the only interpretation, and I believe this to be so. Professor Tristram does not mention any place by name where these inscriptions are to be found: but surely the thirteenth/fourteenth-century painting of this subject at S. Miniato, Florence, is conclusive. The inscription reads

'Qui no guarda la domenica sancta e a Cristo no a devotione, Deo li glidada in damnacione eternale.'

There is bound to be controversy over the interpretation of certain scenes, particularly when they are in a fragmentary condition. But a good many descriptions have only too clearly been written up from memory or inadequate descriptions and not from recent personal observation. For example, there certainly is not, and as far as I have been able to ascertain, never was, a painting of Christ mounted like Langland's 'Jesus the Jouster', at Broughton, Bucks. The interpretation of the Gossips at Peakirk is beyond question; and I fancy the definitive account of these paintings, fully illustrated, in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. cx, would have been available before the publication of this book. I question, also, whether the whole iconographic setting has been sufficiently considered in the account of the Longthorpe paintings, where the hermit with crutch is identified as S. Francis silencing the birds, although they are all behind him. Dr. Baker's interpretation in *Archaeologia*, vol. 96, is far more convincing. A recent close examination of the Preston paintings for making detailed records suggests that these belong iconographically and stylistically more to the end of the thirteenth than to the fourteenth century.

I confess I find the arrangement of the various appendixes, indexes, and lists confusing and irritating. It would surely have been simpler to include *all* paintings, whether decorative, figure-subjects, major or minor, extant or destroyed, in the one catalogue and describe each as it is reached in alphabetical order as in Keyser's List. As it is, one has to search about in half a dozen different places for different things. And one's explorations lead one to distrust the accuracy of the whole, where so much cross-referencing is needed. For example, when one looks up Stoke Orchard under Appendix E (list arranged by counties) and then attempts to turn it up in the main catalogue, one finds it is not included at all. The index gives a reference to page 27, where a Wheel is mentioned. There are, in fact, *no* fourteenth-century paintings, and probably never have been, in Stoke Orchard Church, the Wheel in question being of the seventeenth or eighteenth century on which Father Time (part of the subject of Time and Death) was mounted, as at Oxenton nearby. The reference has clearly been taken from Hobart Bird's *Mural Paintings in Gloucestershire Churches*, a notoriously inadequate and unreliable work, rather than from actual knowledge or inquiry. Again, a number of the Edstaston (Salop) paintings are now quite identifiable; but the latest reference quoted is 1912. Great Hampden appears in the county list (E); but there is no description in the main catalogue, or in the 'short list' (B) or reference in the Main Index; and one has to wade right through the Iconographic List (F) to find it, with a query, under the Seven Sins.

In spite of these criticisms, which are more of isolated interpretations, general arrangement, and accuracy of reference than of solid content, the work is a most valuable and welcome one. It is to be hoped that it will inspire someone to undertake the real need, that of an up-to-date and accurate edition of Keyser.

E. C. ROUSE

*Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307.* Von OTTO LEHMANN-BROCKHAUS. 9 x 6*½*. Band 1 (1955). A-K. Pp. xix + 594. Band 2 (1956). L-Z. Pp. 735. München: Prestel Verlag.

When completed this work will consist of five volumes, averaging about 650 pages and costing 74 DM. (roughly £6) each, the first three containing the evidences and the last two elaborate indexes. It is a thesaurus—there is something saurian about its bulk!—of all references to buildings or objects of art in a large number of printed works; these consist of the Chronicles, &c. in the Rolls Series, the volumes of the Surtees Society, and miscellaneous other sources which will be identifiable in the fourth volume. Records, such as the Pipe Rolls and Close Rolls, are ignored. The first two volumes, here noticed, consist of 1,330 pages of matter entered under

topographical headings alphabetically arranged. For the art historian this is inconvenient; it means, for instance, that the inventories of church goods in the Archdeaconry of Ely, the manors of the Bishop of London, and the diocese of Salisbury, so valuable in their entirety, are split up under individual parishes. There is, moreover, no subdivision of the heads; thus under London we have 175 pages of jumbled references to Westminster Abbey, the Tower, St. Paul's, City churches, crosses, and so forth. The whole is a monument of undiscriminating industry; while much of the material is of the highest importance, too much is of negligible value; under Fountains Abbey, for instance, we are given fourteen separate items of burials in the chapter-house, at the end of which we know precisely that the abbey had a chapter-house. The simple statements that William I built Battle Abbey, that Henry I founded Reading, and Stephen Faversham are solemnly buttressed with, respectively, 32, 44, and 28 lines of references. Again, with 17 lines of authorities for the rebuilding of Chichester Cathedral and 7 for the founding of a fort at Hertford, it is a pity that the passages chosen for printing give the names respectively as 'Cirencestre' and 'Herefordiam'. No consideration of the reliability of the sources is visible: under Croyland we are given ten pages of 'Ingulf' without a hint that his Chronicle is an unreliable forgery; and under Cambridge the statement that the University was rebuilt and restored by Edward the Elder (900-25) is given without comment.

L. F. SALZMAN

*The English Traveler to Italy*, Vol. i: The Middle Ages (to 1525). By GEORGE B. PARKS. 10 x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Pp. xx+668, with 19 pls. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954.

This is a thorough and intelligent piece of work; it traverses a period of 1,500 years and it gives a comprehensive account of English travellers and the impact of Italy upon them. The author calls it 'a study of travel literature, which is a form of historical writing'. He brings under contribution an exhaustive array of narratives of journeys, biographies of travellers, itineraries, and pilgrim guide-books. He prints from them extracts, longer or shorter, translating those in Latin—the majority; he details the routes taken and illustrates them by facsimiles and maps; and he makes considerable use of modern works. His treatment is always interesting and judicious, never degenerating into a catalogue of persons and places, although very few actual or legendary travellers have escaped notice. The writings are made to yield up the impressions received in Italy, especially lively being the comments from the twelfth century. Furthermore the author recognizes the need to reconstruct the history of English travel if the literature is fully to be understood. He analyses therefore with great clarity the categories of men and women who crossed the Alps and their varying objectives. Rome was always the chief goal, whether it was the Rome of the endless pilgrims to the Apostles' shrines or else the court of Rome, centre of ecclesiastical administration and justice. From the eleventh century Crusaders traversed the whole peninsula to take ship for the East, while clerics, scholars, and diplomats frequented the Norman Kingdom of Sicily; during the 'ending of the middle ages' soldiers of fortune, university students, and merchants fought or worked in northern and central Italy.

The division of the book within each period into chapters concerned with travel literature, with routes and travellers, and with the Italian scene leads inevitably to repeated use of the same sources. The contribution of Gervase of Tilbury, for instance, must be sought in six different places and his vivid descriptions are often lost in a careful summary. Again many characteristic episodes have dropped out and the author himself seems troubled by the dimming of the picture. On the other hand errors of fact are pleasantly few. In regard to one of them at least it must be emphasized that 'the new abbey of St. Antoine, east of Vienne', was not 'founded in honor of the new saint of Padua'. It represented a fresh dignity conferred at the time of a great rebuilding on the existing Augustinian priory, itself the successor of a famous and ancient hospital which boasted the relics of St. Antony the Abbot, of Egypt.

In the last part of the book, 1300-1500, although the period is generally familiar, the author has made a considerable contribution of new knowledge. He has constructed a list of diplomatic envoys to the court of Rome, 1413 to 1510, in which he attempts, but only tentatively, to distinguish the resident from the special envoys, basing himself on the English licences to travel and on the too-little-used records of the Venerable English College in Rome, which supply the names of many clerics and laymen, inscribed as members of the English Hospice confraternities in the city. He has drawn new facts from the Florentine archives about the numbers and composition of the 'Free Companies' led by Sir John Hawkwood and other Englishmen; and he has collected much information about English merchants and the wool trade, although he has nothing to say about banking relations. Finally in a very important chapter he treats of the sojourn of English intellectuals, not omitting Chaucer, and gives many facts about students illustrated by a long list of English names drawn from the records of many Italian Universities. Another chapter describes the new routes opened in the period and in conclusion he attempts to assess, not quite completely, Italian cultural influences in England at the end of the Middle Ages. A short review cannot give proper consideration to a book of such wide range and intimate knowledge, which brings together almost all the known material for English travel to Italy together with hitherto unused sources. There are very few misprints and the plates are apposite and clear.

EVELYN JAMISON

*Silver*. By GERALD TAYLOR. 7½ x 4½. Pp. xxxiii + 248. Pelican A 306. London: Penguin Books, 1956. 5s.

As a comprehensive history of the art of the silversmith this is a remarkable and useful little book. Mr. Taylor casts his net wider than Mr. Charles Oman did in his *English Domestic Silver*, and includes some discussion of medieval ecclesiastical plate. He also summarizes the history of silver (and gold) mining, and the methods of refining and working the metals. The uninstructed reader may find some of the processes described mystifying, because Mr. Taylor has not always adequately defined the technical terms. Indeed, his glossary is far from complete, omitting, among other things, 'incused', for a definition of which the reader is expressly referred to the glossary. But, within its necessarily narrow limits, this preliminary chapter covers the metallurgical facts well enough.

In the chapters that follow, the author has concentrated an enormous amount of material and has organized it with great skill. Each chapter opens with a brief survey of the effect of political events and social changes upon the silversmith's art during the period under discussion. Then, after a section on the style and ornamentation prevalent, there are notes on the typical forms taken by the principal articles of plate, as cups, tea-pots, salvers, and so on.

The series of 64 admirably produced illustrations show the changes of style over several centuries. At first sight it may appear that Mr. Taylor has concentrated too much, in his selection of photographs, upon the plate of the Oxford colleges and that in the Ashmolean Museum. Yet these are the things he knows best and, as one reads the text, one realizes that he has chosen his illustrations with a keen eye for what they do in fact illustrate. They are not merely choice pieces, but typical of their kind; even the solitary modern example is typical in its finicky eclecticism, though it looks better in the photograph than it really is. Moreover, the photographs have also been chosen to illustrate certain technical points, such as the hammer-marks of the smith or 'firestain'.

The necessity for compression has sometimes resulted in a disjointed sequence of paragraphs and has caused a rather too summary dismissal of Victorian craftsmanship. There was certainly a large proportion of vulgar and tasteless work done a hundred years ago, but there was also a good deal that is worthy, at least, of respect and is now coming to be appreciated by collectors. The

too summary tables of marks, which may be a useful *aide-mémoire* to the experienced but are no adequate guide to the novice, might well have been omitted in favour of a more detailed discussion of the craft since the great Georgian period. One is a little surprised, too, to find a connoisseur so appreciative of style writing that the principal craftsmen 'seldom show any personal idiosyncrasies beyond the characteristics common to their period'. This is surely, as the illustrations in this book alone suggest, quite untrue of such artists as Lamerie and Storr. It is also, I think, untrue of the work of such firms as the Batemans and the Hennells, whose best products, however modest in scope, are distinguished by an exquisite taste and a fineness of craftsmanship that make them readily recognizable and therefore characteristic of themselves as well as of their times.

JOAN EVANS

*Historic Hastings*. By J. MAINWARING BAINES, F.S.A. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Pp. xvi + 433. Hastings: F. J. Parsons Ltd., 1955. £5. 5s.

Mr. Baines, the author of this book, has been curator of the Hastings Museum since 1935. He has collected here an immense amount of information concerning the town and its institutions which will be of general interest locally. It is essentially an illustrated scrap-book about Hastings with a miscellaneous collection of facts, carefully authenticated, selected mainly from records of the last four or five centuries and grouped under subjects which concern chiefly the conduct of affairs in the town.

The author frankly disclaims any attempt to write the history of Hastings and we cannot therefore complain that he has not given us what he did not intend. But his method has certain disadvantages, the chief of which is that his readers will find it difficult to get a picture of the town as a whole, either in its consecutive story or in its topography. In regard to the latter what we miss most is a lucid description of the streets, houses, and their inhabitants and some clear maps to make it intelligible. The geography of Hastings is peculiarly difficult to visualize without these aids.

As regards the former, more emphasis might have been given to its unique tribal settlement between the Jutes of Kent and the South Saxons, its early prowess as a cradle of the navy, the function assigned to it by William the Conqueror, who built its castle, as the head of the Rape bearing its name and its later maritime services in the confederation of the Cinque Ports, where it challenged the leadership of Dover. Hastings which distinguished itself in playing its part in the taking of Lisbon from the Moors in 1147 and in establishing the Kingdom of Portugal was no mean port in early days. The College of St. Mary of the Castle has only a passing mention. The Priory of Austin Canons (called by a slip 'friars' on p. 110), which was moved in 1413 to Warbleton but still held property in Hastings, is inadequately treated in the same chapter as the ancient Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen—an interesting example of a town hospital which would more fittingly have appeared in the chapter on 'the Care of the Poor'. Nevertheless the book is a mine of information and an example of patient industry which should interest the citizens of Hastings in their past and encourage them to aid the author in preserving such vestiges as remain.

WALTER H. GODFREY

*Bridgend: the story of a market town*. By HENRY JOHN RANDALL. 9 x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Pp. xv + 156. Newport, Mon.: R. H. Johns Ltd., 1955. 21s.

Our Fellow H. J. Randall provides an admirably balanced record of his native town. He is a distinguished member of one of the succession of families of *advenae* who, throughout recorded history, have shared the Vale of Glamorgan with the descendants of the native Welsh.

After giving the geographical background—of essential importance—Mr. Randall records the

almost equally important medieval setting in which 'a tiny but prosperous community' began to develop in the fifteenth century at the eastern 'end of the Bridge', newly built across the Ogmore river about 1425 to replace an ancient ford.

The town never became a borough, but 'grew up as an indifferentiated fragment of the Manor of Coity Anglia in the Lordship of Coity'. Subsequently the village of Newcastle, of much earlier origin, with its castle and church at the western end of the bridge was included with 'Nolton or Oldcastle' on the east to form the modern town. The 'Old' castle was Coity which, like Newcastle, was sited in relation to the ford. It was not until 1851 that 'for the first time the town became a corporate unity, and not merely a segment of a manor'.

Mr. Randall points out that 'the Welsh alternative name, Pen-y-Bont, is a literary form never used in official documents or as an address . . . similarly Newcastle, Oldcastle, and Nolton are always so called, and the Welsh translations only appear in works written in Welsh'—although a large number of field names suggests that many of the inhabitants were Welsh speaking.

The old church of Newcastle, now largely rebuilt, continues to serve the town, and the histories of the ancient chapels of ease of Nolton and the more modern nonconformist chapels are recorded. Mr. Randall quotes Mr. David Williams's statement in his *History of Modern Wales* that 'the most remarkable aspect of the religious life of Wales in the first half of the nineteenth century was the spread of nonconformity' and describes its effects at Bridgend, pointing out that 'the vague modern expression "the Welsh Way of Life" is little more than an idealization of the Dissenting chapel which was a social centre quite as much as a religious organization'.

The author's wit enables him to avoid the possible tedium of purely local records for the stranger.

'In 1857 it was decided to erect a county lunatic asylum . . . about two miles north of Bridgend . . . though greatly enlarged the institution still remains and serves its original purpose . . . its existence is the subject of one of the stock jokes made at the expense of Bridgend. Lunatics, however, are now outmoded and it has been transfigured from an asylum into a mental hospital.'

A record storm in August 1877 caused terrible floods which destroyed six bridges in the neighbourhood, and in Bridgend itself 'the office of an auctioneer was entirely washed out, and the furniture in Dr. Verity's house was almost destroyed. Even more painful was the total loss of 300 barrels of beer from the Brewery.'

W. J. HEMP

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

AGRICULTURAL HIST. REV., vol. 3, pt. 1:—The content and sources of English agrarian history before 1500, by R. H. Hilton; The un-tilled field, by T. D. Davidson; A reconsideration of some former husbandry practices, by E. Kerridge.

Vol. 3, pt. 2:—The content and sources of English agrarian history after 1500, by J. Thirsk; The curving plough-strip and its historical implications, by S. R. Eyre; Crop nutrition in Tudor and early Stuart England, by G. E. Fussell; Mr. Beresford and the lost villages, by J. D. Gould.

TRANS. ANCIENT MONS. SOC., n.s. vol. 3:—The preservation of Church monuments, by Sir J. Mann; Cathedral innovations: James Wyatt, Architect at Durham Cathedral, 1795–97, by R. A. Cordingley; Town planning and historic buildings, by I. Boileau; The Gawsworth armorials, by W. E. Clarke; Some Welsh historic buildings, by I. C. Peate; Recording English architecture, by W. H. Godfrey; Fashions in fitments: changes in Cathedral furniture, by G. Cobb.

JOURN. ROY. ANTHROP. INST., vol. 83, pt. 2:—Christian Saints or pagan gods? The Lough Erne figures, by T. C. Lethbridge.

ANTIQUITY, no. 117:—The earliest tool-makers, by K. Oakley; Athens in the late Bronze Age, by O. Broneer; The camel and The Garamantes, by E. W. Bovill; The rôle of the Philistines, by C. H. Gordon; The sword of Korisios, by R. Wyss; The blue-stones of the Cardigan district, by O. T. Jones; Antler-combs, by J. Walton; A new Swanscombe skull bone; False vaults, by A. R. Burn; A new inscribed clay tablet from Enkomi, by P. Dikaios; Seals, by W. J. Hemp.

No. 118:—Archaeology in the Philippines, by M. Sullivan; Bossed bone plaques of the Second Millennium, by J. D. Evans; Greek roads in South Attica, by J. H. Young; Coal in the Ice Age, by B. Klima; The earliest fire-makers, by K. Oakley; Excavations at Motya: a Phoenician colony in Sicily, by B. S. J. Isserlin, P. J. Parr and W. Culican.

R.I.B.A. JOURN., vol. 63, no. 3:—Brompton, London's art quarter, by H. S. Goodhart-Rendel.

Vol. 63, no. 5:—Architecture and ritual in megalithic monuments, by S. Piggott.

JOURN. SOC. ARCHIVISTS, vol. 1, no. 2:—The study of the records of the Court of Arches, by M. D. Slatter; Some Bedfordshire surveyors of the 18th century, by P. L. Hull; The records of the London Commissioners of Sewers, by A. D. Ride.

Vol. 1, no. 3:—The future of archives in England, by Sir H. Jenkinson; The recording of medieval (and some later) seals, by F. W. Steer; The archives of the Treasurers of Buckinghamshire before 1889, by J. C. K. Cornwall.

JOURN. B.A.A., vol. 17, 1954:—The quest for the cross of St. Edward the Confessor, by L. E. Tanner; Studies in medieval English alabaster carvings. 1. Six tables at Daroca, by W. L. Hildburgh; A tile kiln at Chertsey Abbey, by J. S. Gardner and E. Eames; A catalogue of masons' marks as an aid to architectural history, by R. H. C. Davis; A note on three Romano-British place-names, by S. Applebaum.

BURLINGTON MAG., January 1956:—Claude de Jongh, by J. Hayes; English silver at Burlington House, by C. Oman.

February 1956:—Towards a reconstruction of Sassetta's Arte della Lana Triptych (1423–6), by F. Zeri; Decorative projects of Sebastian de Herrera Barnuevo, by H. E. Wethey; Perino del Vaga's decorations for the Palazzo Doria, Genoa, by P. Askew.

COAT OF ARMS, vol. 3, no. 25:—Royal coronets, by C. d'O. Farran; The Atholl arms, by I. Moncreiffe; The third International Heraldic & Genealogical Congress, 1955, by J. P. Brooke-Little; Civic arms: Whitley Bay, Abingdon and Droitwich, by R. Bretton; Purpure, by C. R. Humphery-Smith; Heraldic glass at Emanuel School; Guide to grantees, by C. W. Scott-Giles; Minor monsters, by H. S. London; Some notes of ecclesiastical heraldry, by T. T. Reed; Arms of John of Gaunt, by H. S. London.

Vol. 4, no. 26:—The fashion for heraldry, by E. Elmhirst; Curiosities of Hungarian heraldry, by G. B. Grosschmid; Origin of 'The Hon.', by V. Heywood; College of Arms of Canada, by F. E. Barber; Tryvet v. Athol, by C. R. Humphery-Smith; The Freston quarterings, by A. de Freston; Katherine of Aragon's pomegranate, by K. P. Harrison; Scottish regimental colours, by J. A. Stewart.

JOURN. SOC. ARMY HIST. RES., vol. 33, no. 136:—Colonel Eyre Crabbe of the 74th, with some observations on D. Cunliffe as a military painter, by H. P. E. Pereira; British military smoothbore firearms (concl'd.), by R. Scurfield; Badges, buttons and shoulder titles of South African regiments: from the Parkyn collection, by G. Tylden; The cost of Queen Anne's war, by C. T. Atkinson.

Vol. 34, no. 137:—Lt.-General Sir Thomas Dallas, G.C.B. (1758–1839), by C. C. P. Lawson; The County Fencibles and militia augmentation of 1794, by J. R. Western; The regimental colour of the 2nd Bn. Lord Ogilvy's Regiment, Army of Prince Charles Edward, by A. McK. Annand; The first four volunteer units of the Cape, by G. Tylden; James Smithies (1787–1868), 1st Royal Dragoons, by E. Robson; Two cavalry jackets, by P. E. Abbott; Standards and guidons of the Horse Grenadier Guards, c. 1766–1788, by W. Y. Carman; Wynendaal, by C. T. Atkinson.

CONNOISSEUR, February 1956:—The Portuguese goldsmith, by J. Couto; Azulejos in a land of many colours, by J. M. Dos Santos Simoes; Arms and armour in the London exhibition of Portuguese Art, by J. Mann; Portuguese glass cameos, by A. C. Pinto; Gilt carved-work retablos of the churches of Portuguese India, by M. Chicó; Characteristic traits in Portuguese sculpture, by D. de Macedo.

March 1956:—Allan Ramsay and Robert Adam in Italy, by J. Fleming; The pearl sword of the City of Bristol, by J. F. Hayward; Paintings and prints of Twickenham and Richmond in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. Ionides, by A. Bury.

April 1956:—English furniture in the rococo taste, by R. W. Symonds; Royal toilet services in Scandinavia, by A. G. Grimwade; Seventeenth-century pewter candlesticks, by A. V. Sutherland-Graeme; French medieval manuscripts now on exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, by J. Baci.

May 1956:—Berkeley Castle yesterday and today, by M. Moore.

June 1956:—English silver in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Assheton Bennett, pt. 2, by J. F. Hayward; Inlaid furniture in the neo-classic style, by R. W. Symonds.

FOLK-LORE, vol. 66:—Folklore of Lincolnshire, by E. H. Rudkin; Medieval stone and mould leaden clamp, by M. A. Murray; A stable charm from Herts., by T. W. Bagshawe.

Vol. 67:—Demonology and medicine in the 16th and 17th centuries, by S. R. Burstein.

GENEAL. MAG., vol. 12, no. 5:—Huguenot records, by S. Minet; The noble family of Lightowler in Austria, by H. Jäger-Sunstenau; Some early emigrants to America, by C. D. P. Nicholson.

Vol. 12, no. 6:—Huguenot records, by S. Minet; The Jacobite Heir: a doubt, by W. J. Palmer; Protestant registers in France, by R. de Z. Hall; Some early emigrants to America, by C. D. P. Nicholson; Passenger lists as an historical source, by P. A. M. Taylor.

JOURN. BRIT. SOC. MASTER GLASS-PAINTERS, vol. 12, no. 1:—Was coloured glass made in medieval England? pt. 1, by W. T. Thorne; Walter Gedde's *Booke of Sundry Draughtes*, 1615, by J. A. Knowles; Catalogue of a sale of stained glass in 1804; Ancient glass in Nottinghamshire, a survey by N. Truman; The English window at Caudebec-en-Caux, by J. Lafond.

GEOG. JOURN., vol. 122, pt. 1:—Thomas Milne's land utilization map of the London Area in 1800, by G. B. G. Bull.

GUILDHALL MISCELLANY, no. 6, 1956:—The Library at Guildhall in the 15th and 16th centuries, pt. 2, by R. Smith; The barriers: Guildhall Library MS 4160, by D. S. Bland; Portraits of Elizabeth I on some City Companies' Charters, by E. Auerbach; The trade, art or mystery of silk throwers of the City of London in the 17th century, by W. M. Stern.

BULL. INST. HIST. RES., vol. 29, no. 79:—The beginnings of feudalism in Scotland, by G. W. S. Barrow; Sir Thomas Herbert of Tintern: a parliamentary 'royalist', by N. Mackenzie.

ENG. HIST. REV., vol. 71, no. 278:—The management of English Royal estates under the Yorkist

Kings, by B. P. Wolffe; The Norse emigration to the Faeroe Islands, by G. J. Marcus; The companions of the Conqueror: an additional name, by J. F. A. Mason.

Vol. 72, no. 279:—The administration of the Navy and the Stannaries, 1189-1216, by W. R. Powell.

TRANS. R. HIST. SOC., 5th ser., vol. 6:—English provincial towns in the early 16th century, by W. G. Hoskins; Empire and Papacy: the last struggle, by H. S. Offler; The English hierarchy in the reign of Edward III, by J. R. L. Highfield.

PROC. HUGUENOT SOC. OF LONDON, vol. 19, no. 3:—The Huguenot contribution to the early years of the funded debt, 1694-1714, by A. C. Carter; The De Baileuls in Flanders and the Bayleys of Willow Hall, by J. Gladstone; The Reformation in Southwark, by I. Darlington; The Edict of Nantes in the light of medieval political theory, by W. J. Stankiewicz.

THE LIBRARY, vol. 10, no. 4: Roger Bartlett, bookbinder, by I. G. Philip; The Ferrara Bible at Press, by S. Rypins.

Vol. 11, no. 1:—Pinholes in the 1457 Psalter, by K. Povey.

Vol. 11, no. 2:—Changes in the style of bookbinding, 1550-1830, by G. Pollard.

MAN, vol. 56, May:—The culture of the East African coast in the 17th and 18th centuries in the light of recent archaeological discoveries, by G. Mathew.

MARINER'S MIRROR, vol. 42, no. 1:—Fore-and-aft sails in the ancient world, by L. Casson; Rig in Northern Europe, by Sir A. Moore; A medieval cordage account, by Sir R. Lane-Poole; The armed ships of Dover, by M. A. N. Marshall.

Vol. 42, no. 2:—Small craft in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, by H. H. Frese; The origin and observance of the Dragon Boat Festival in China, by G. R. G. Worcester.

TRANS. MON. BRASS SOC., vol. 9, pt. 5, no. 75:—Some brasses in Germany and the Low Countries, 1, by J. Belonje and F. A. Greenhill; Lost brasses of Willesborough, Kent, by R. H. D'Elboux; The arms of Peplesham and the Shoveller in heraldry, by H. S. London; Two Norwich palimpsests, by J. F. Williams; Oxnead, Norfolk, by C. L. S. Linnell; Eaton Bray, Beds., by H. F. O. Evans; A find of palimpsests at Halton, Bucks., by D. C. Rutter; Brasses at Zeitz, by M. Norris; Some additions to the Northants. List, 1, by F. A. Greenhill; Stonor Chapel, Oxon., by H. F. O. Evans; Penn, Bucks., by H. F. O. Evans; An additional note on a brass at Saffron Walden, by Rev. G. M. Benton; The Rudyng brass, Biggleswade, Beds., by K. W. Kuhlicke; A palimpsest from Great Greenford, by J. C. Page-Phillips; The date of the Wytham brass, by F. A. Greenhill and A. C. Cole.

TRANS. ORIENTAL CERAMIC SOC., 1953-54:—Some ceramics excavated in Borneo, by T. Harrisson; T'ang and Ming jades, by C. Te-k'un; Koryo inlaid Celadon ware, by G. St. G. M. Gompertz; Some notes on the Chinese Blue and White Exhibition, by Sir H. Garner.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, Jan.-June 1956:—Rock engravings from the Jebel Ideid, by E. Anati; Stories of the Creation and the Flood, by L. Woolley; Late Cypriot III: in the light of recent excavations, by J. du Plat Taylor; Palestine in the Roman period, 63 B.C.-A.D. 324, by G. M. FitzGerald; Antiquities in the mountains of Judah, by late J. J. Rothschild.

PROC. PREHISTORIC SOC., n.s. vol. 20, pt. 2:—The quaternary deposits at Hoxne, Suffolk and their archaeology, by R. G. West and C. M. B. McBurney; Excavations at the Mugharet Kebara, Mount Carmel, 1931: the Aurignacian industries, by D. A. E. Garrod; Azilian harpoons, by M. W. Thompson; The excavation of a Neolithic barrow on Whiteleaf Hill, Bucks., by V. G. Childe and I. Smith; Pollen analysis as an aid to the dating of prehistoric monuments, by G. W. Dimbleby.

PAPERS OF B.S. ROME, vol. 23, 1955:—The cemeteries of Cyrene, by J. Cassels; Notes on southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus, by J. B. Ward Perkins; The enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul, by U. Ewins; Cumanin Cami'i at Antalya: a Byzantine church, by M. H. Ballance; The Aqueduct of Aspendos, by J. B. Ward Perkins; Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania: a supplement, by J. Reynolds; The counties of the *Regnum Italiae* in the Carolingian period (774-888): a topographical study, 1, by D. A. Bullough.

BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIB., vol. 38, no. 2:—The eve of Magna Carta, by C. R. Cheney; The place-names of the Domesday manuscripts, by P. H. Sawyer.

BEDS. MAG., vol. 5, no. 36:—A Bedfordshire topographer, by M. Greenshields; Lower Dean windmill, by F. Woodbridge; Someries Castle, by W. H. Manning.

Vol. 5, no. 37:—The builder of Ampthill Castle, by M. S. F. George; Bedford's historic mile, by H. S. Manning.

TRANS. BIRMINGHAM ARCH. SOC., vol. 72, 1954:—Further excavations at the Roman forts at Metchley, Birmingham, 1954, by G. Webster; Excavation at Alvechurch, Worcs., 1951-2, by A. Oswald; Walton Hill, Romsley, Worcs.: excavation of a 12th-century kiln and a 12th-13th-century hut site, by G. S. Taylor; Some notes on the place-names of Birmingham and the surrounding district, by M. Gelling; Some Midland ice-houses, by F. W. B. Yorke.

UNIV. BIRMINGHAM HIST. JOURN., vol. 5, no. 1:—Some hymns to the Nile, by R. T. R. Clark; The Laudian Church in Buckinghamshire, by E. R. C. Brinkworth.

BRADFORD ANTIQUARY, n.s. pt. 38:—The Manor of Tong, pt. 2, by W. Robertshaw; A Bolling household book, 1669-1687, by S. C. Priest; Jeremy Bower: a 17th-century Bradford clothier, by W. E. Preson; Ponden and Ponden House, by W. Shakleton; A Rawdon cavalier, by W. Robertshaw.

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Siedlung von Kicking, von H. Ladenbauer-Orel; Erforschung der Chronologie der Eiszeit, von M. Milankovitch; Das germanische Brandgräberfeld am Galgengrund in Mistelbach, von H. Mitscha-Märheim; Zwei Gräber aus der Spätphase der Glockenbecherkultur in Deutschkreutz, ein Beitrag zum Problem des Typus Ragelsdorf-Oggau-Sarrod, von A. Ohrenberger; Das urzeitliche Bergbaugebiet Wirtsalm bei Viehhofen im Mitterpinzgau, von E. Preuschen und R. Pittioni; Das Siedlungsgebiet der Aunjetitz-Kultur in Niederösterreich, von F. Scheibenreiter; Antike und mittelalterliche Pflugscharen in Österreich, von L. Schmidt; Ein Depotfund der Bronzezeit-Stufe B vom Kürnberg bei Linz a. D., von F. Stroh; Gruppen des Aurignacien in Ungarn, von L. Vértes.

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GERMANIA, Jahrgang 33, Heft 4:—Altsteinzeitliche Funde im Kreise Ziegenhain, von A. Luttrop; Neue Bernsteinschieber aus Griechenland, von V. Milojčić; Der Goldbecher von Fritzdorf bei Bonn, von R. v. Uslar; Durchbrochene Armbänder der Hügelgräberbronzezeit, von B. Frei; Wale auf norwegischen Felsbildern, vom Meeressbiologen betrachtet, von W. Schäfer; Die Herstellung von Fibelspiralen, von H. Drescher; Funde aus der alten Zihl und ihre Deutung, von R. Wyss; Grabfunde der vorrömischen Eisenzeit vom Heuberg bei Uphusen, von K. Raddatz; Ein Sigillata-Depotfund aus dem Legionslager Vindonissa, von E. Ettlinger und R. Fellmann; Municipium Arae, von R. Laur-Belart; Zur Runeninschrift auf der Scheibenfibel von Schretzheim, von W. Krause; Ein fränkisches Grab

mit Prunklanze aus Bargen, von A. Dauber; Zur karolingischen Königspfalz in Frankfurt am Main, von O. Stamm.

**JAHRBUCH DES RÖM.-GER. ZENTRALMUSEUMS MAINZ: FESTSCHRIFT FÜR ERNST SPROCKHOFF**; Jahrgang 2, 1955:—Bibliographie E. Sprockhoff, von O. Kunkel; Über den Nutzen spekulativer Betrachtung vorgeschichtlicher Funde, von R. von Uslar; Die neolithische Plastik in nordischen Kulturreis, von E. Stürms; Drei neue Groß-Steingräber im Kreise Harburg, von W. Wegewitz; Ein Hortfund der frühen Hügelgräberbronzezeit von Ackenbach, von W. Kimmig; Ein Grabhügel bei Osternienburg, von W. A. von Brunn; Versuch zur Deutung der Depotfunde der nordischen jüngeren Bronzezeit, von J.-J. Hundt; Zum Depotfund von Barum, von K. Tackenberg und J. Frechen; Einige 'mitteleuropäische' Fremdlinge auf Kreta, von V. Miločić; Die Nauheimer Fibel, von J. Werner; Zur absoluten Chronologie der römischen Kaiserzeit im Freien Germanien, von H. J. Eggers; Flavische Okkupationslinien in Raetien, von W. Schleiermacher; Ein christliches Amulett mit Reiterdarstellung, von H. Menzel.

**MAINZER ZEITSCHRIFT**, Jahrgang 50:—Rheinhessische Orte um Mainz im Mittelalter, von E. Stephan; Der Mainzer Bildhauer Gerhard Wolff, der Meister des sogenannten Ebersteinschen Epitaphs zu Wertheim, von J. Schuster; Der Wambolter Hof in Mainz, von F. Arens; Die Pläne der Mainzer Dompropstei und anderer Bauten von François Ignace Mangin, von F. Arens; Bericht der rheinhessischen Bodendenkmalpflege für die Zeit vom 1. April 1953 bis zum 31. März 1954, von H. Schermer und B. Stümpel; Zu den römischen Münzfunden von Mainz, von P. Franke und H. Küthmann.

**JAHRESSCHRIFT FÜR MITTELDEUTSCHE VORGESCHICHTE**, Band 39:—Die spät-paläolithischen und mesolithischen Silexgeräte vom Galgenberg bei Halle, von V. Toepfer; Neolithisches aus Mittel- und Nordostdeutschland, von H. Knöll; Neue Grabfunde auf dem 'Großen Berg' bei Aspenstedt, von H. Ebert; Drei schnurkeramische Kindergräber aus der Gemarkung Schraplau, von W. Matthias; Ein Palisaden-Grabbau von Wahlitz, von T. Voigt; Ein Friedhof der frühen Bronzezeit bei Nohra, von E. Schmidt-Thielbeer; Ein bronzezeitlicher Totenhügel bei Menz, von H. Lies; Ein Bronzetassen-Geschirrfund von Braunsbedra, von K. H. Otto; Die Bedeutung der Hasenburg bei Großbodungen in frühlingszeitlicher Zeit, von W. Schulz; Wo lag Grodisti?, von P. Hinneburg; Die wichtigsten Fundmeldungen des Jahres 1953 aus dem Lande Sachsen-Anhalt, von H. Behrens; Die wichtigsten Neufunde des Jahres 1954 aus dem Lande Sachsen-Anhalt, von W. Hoffmann und B. Schmidt; Bestimmung der Höhe im Widerstand bei Pferden, von H. H. Müller; Verwahrfund der jüngeren Steinzeit, von W. Hoffmann; Ein Fund bandkeramischer Steingeräte bei Radisleben, von F. Klocke; Zwei Askoi aus Mitteldeutschland, von H. Behrens.

**NACHRICHTEN AUS NIEDERSACHSENS URGESCHICHTE**, Heft 24:—Zum Problem der 'Abfallgruben', von W. Wegewitz; Die Holzplastik aus der Wurt Hessens im Kulturbild des 7. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts, von P. Schmid.

**OFFA**, Band 13, 1954:—Kammerlose Hünenbetten im Sachsenwald, von E. Sprockhoff; Ein Grabhügel mit Pflugsuren auf Amrum, von K. Kersten; Bronzezeitlicher Männergrabfund der Periode II aus Ostenfeld, von G. Jacob-Friesen; Der erste Grundriß eines bronzezeitlichen Hauses von Norddorf auf Amrum, von K. W. Struve; Ein Beitrag zur Verwendung von Messstäben und anderen Zeichenhilfsmitteln während der Bronzezeit, von H. Drescher; Ein vorgeschichtlicher Grabhügel bei Wahlstedt, von H. Hingst; Das Gräberfeld der älteren Jastorzeit auf dem Timmberge bei Breitenstein, von K. Hücke; Einige Waffen der vorrömischen Eisenezeit aus Norddeutschland, von K. Raddatz; Zum Aufriß der eisenzeitlichen Hallen in Schleswig-Holstein, von H. Hinz; Ein Wikingerschwert aus der Schlei bei Schleswig, von P. La Baume; Kaiserzeitliche Samen aus Westerohrstedt, von H. Hinz.

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**ARBEITS- UND FORSCHUNGSBERICHTE ZUR SÄCHSISCHEN BODENDENKMALPFLEGE**, Band 5:—Ein jungpaläolithischer Fundplatz auf dem Zinkenberg in den Hohburger

Bergen, von H. Hanitzsch; Eine Geröllhaue vom Schafberg Niederkaina/Nadelwitz, von E. Schmidt; Untersuchungen an jungsteinzeitlichen Kinderskeletten, von S. Krefft; Skelettgräber von Zauschwitz, von W. Coblenz; Ein Schnurbecher aus Magdeborn, Ortsteil Göltzschen, von R. Moschkau; Neue schnurkeramische und Aunjetitzer Gräber vom Schafberg Niederkaina, bei Bautzen, von E. Schmidt und W. Coblenz; Zwei neue Aunjetitzer Gräber von Riess und Umgebung, von A. Mirtschin; Ein verschollener Verwahrfund der ältesten Bronzezeit von Niederjahna bei Meissen, von A. Mirtschin; Beobachtungen an einigen bronzezeitlichen Gefäßen Sachsen, von G. Löwe und W. Coblenz; Gußformen aus Sachsen, von G. Bierbaum; Hügelgrabungen in Nimbschen, von A. Pietzsch und W. Coblenz; Zwei weitere Bronzerasermesser aus Sachsen, von W. Coblenz; Bemerkungen zu vier Bruchstücken prähistorischer Tierplastiken von der Coschützer Heidenschanze von Standpunkt des Zoologen, von H. Petzsch; Tonplastiken von der Heidenschanze Dresden-Coschütz, von W. Coblenz; Pollenanalytische Mooruntersuchungen in der Umgebung der Sumpfschanze Brohna, von T. Schulze; Ein Zwillingsgefäß, gefunden bei Dresden Anno 1709, von O. Kleemann; Ein Hügelgrab aus der frühen Latènezeit von Liebau, von W. Coblenz und A. Pietzsch; Braubacher Schalen im Leipziger Land, von H. Grünert; Merkwürdige Reiber aus sekundär genütztem Gerät, von R. Moschkau; Slawische und fröhdeutsche Keramik vom Schloßberg zu Döbeln, von R. Herrmann; Untersuchungen in Rötha-Geschwitz, von G. Mildenberger.

**BULL. KON. NED. OUDHEIDKUNDIGE BOND**, 6th ser., Jrg. 9, Afl. 1:—Northern Netherlandish miniatures, recent researches and discoveries, by A. W. Byvanck; Architectural development of St. Gertrude's Church, Bergen op Zoom, by C. L. T. Groll; The origin and history of the Frisian 'Terpen', by H. Halbertsma.

Afl. 2:—Plaster in medieval churches, by J. J. F. W. van Agt; Problems concerning the restoration of dwelling-houses and towns, by R. Meischke; Swan-keeping and symbolic representations of swans, by H. Halbertsma.

Afl. 3:—Reorganization plans and restoration of towns, by R. C. Hekker; The Townhall of Flushing as seen in the development of the town, by H. M. van den Berg; Sint Anna ter Muiden, by E. A. Canneman and J. Stapper; Investigations in the St. Bavo Church at Aardenburg, by J. G. N. Renaud; The St. Bavo Church at Aardenburg, by L. Devliegher; Town-planning and architectonic aspects of Middelburg's reconstruction, by I. J. F. Berghoef.

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**PALAEOHISTORIA**, vol. 3:—Barrow excavations in the Eight Beatitudes. The Bronze Age cemetery between Toterfout and Halve Mijl, North Brabant. 2. The implications, by W. Glasbergen; Früh- und mittelpaläolithische Funde aus den Niederlanden, von A. Bohmers and A. Wouters; A contribution to the problem of the so-called Grenzhorizont, by W. van Zeist; Zwei merkwürdige Funde, von A. E. van Giffen; Die Magiergemme von Lieveren als Schlüssel zur Frage der Alsengemmen, von O.-F. Gandert.

**ACTA ARCHAEOLOGICA**, tome 4, fasc. 1-4:—Funde der Körös-Kultur von Hódmezővásárhely-Bodzás part, von J. Banner; Eine Pleistozän-Eselsart im Neolithikum der ungarischen Tiefebene, von S. Bökonyi; Le cimetière hallstattien de Szentes-Vekerzug II, par M. Párducz; Les chevaux scythiques de Szentes-Vekerzug II, par S. Bökonyi; Zur Periodisierung der frühen Sarmatenzeit in Ungarn, von A. Mócsy; Das frührömische Lager und die Wohnsiedlung von Adony, von L. Barkóczai und É. Bónis; Les fouilles de Zalavár, (1951-53). Rapport préliminaire, par G. Fehér; Rapport préliminaire des fouilles exécutées autour de la chapelle du château de Zalavár, par A. C. Sós; Le cimetière dit 'de la commune' de Zalavár, par K. B. Mikes; Rapport préliminaire sur l'examen des ossements d'animaux recueillis au cours des fouilles de Zalavár, par S. Bökonyi.

Tome 5, fasc. 1-2:—A paint mine from the early Upper Palaeolithic Age near Lovas, by G. Mészáros and L. Vértes; Neuere hallstattzeitliche Helmfunde aus Ungarn, von A. Mozsolics; Les relations avaro-byzantines et la fondation de l'État bulgare, par G. Fehér; Das Münzmaterial in den Funden der Völkerwanderungszeit im Mittleren Donaubecken, von L. Huszár.

Tome 5, fasc. 3-4:—Neuere Ausgrabungen und paläolithische Funde in der Höhle von Istállós-kő, von L. Vértes; Eine Knochenflöte aus der Höhle von Istállós-kő, von Z. Horusitzky; Das neolithische Fundmaterial der Höhle von Istállós-kő, von J. Korek; Zahnkeim aus der zweiten Aurignaciens-Schicht der Höhle von Istállós-kő, von M. Malán; Die Vogel- und Säugetierreste der spätpleistozänen Schichten der Höhle von Istállós-kő, von D. Jánossy; Paläolithische Kulturen des Würm I/II-Interstadials in Ungarn, von L. Vértes; Über einige Fragen des mitteleuropäischen Aurignaciens, von L. Vértes; Investigation of charcoal remains of the palaeolithic limonit mine of Balatonlovas, by P. Simoncsics.

Tome 6, fasc. 1-4:—Le cimetière hallstattien de Szentes-Vekerzug III, par M. Párducz; Les chevaux scythiques du cimetière de Szentes-Vekerzug III, par S. Bökönyi; Investigations on the ancient insignia of rank, by L. Vajda; La ziggourat élamite de Tchoga-Zanbil près de Susa, par R. Ghirshman; The consecration coins of the Third Century, by M. R. Alföldi; Der Fund von Káloz, von I. Bóna; Die römerzeitliche Villa von Tácfövenyupuszta, von E. B. Thomas; Untersuchung der in der römischen Villa von Tácfövenyupuszta gefundenen Tierknochen, von S. Bökönyi; Contribution au problème de l'occupation de la Hongrie par les Avars, par I. Kovrig; Le deuxième cimetière avare d'Üllő, par Á. C. Sós; Recherches anthropologiques sur les ossements avares des environs d'Üllő, par P. Lipták; Remarques sur l'appréciation archéologique du cimetière de Kérpuszta, par G. Fehér.

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ANCIENT INDIA, no. 9, 1953 (Special Jubilee Number):—Indian archaeology from Jones to Marshall (1784-1902), by S. Roy; Fifty years of the archaeological survey of India, by A. Ghosh; Progress in prehistory, by V. D. Krishnaswami; Protohistoric investigation, by B. B. Lal; Survey of South Indian megaliths, by K. R. Srinivasan and N. R. Banerjee; Exploration of historical sites, by Y. D. Sharma; Preservation of monuments, by T. N. Ramachandran; Archaeological chemistry and scientific studies, by B. B. Lal; Epigraphical research, by B. C. Chhabra, D. C. Sircar and Z. A. Desai; Museums, by C. Sivaramamurti and J. K. Roy.

Nos. 10 & 11, 1954-55:—Excavation at Hastināpura and other explorations in the Upper Gangā and Sutlej Basins, 1950-52, by B. B. Lal; Angling in ancient India, by S. L. Hora; The pottery industries of the Indo-Iranian border: a re-statement and tentative chronology, by D. H. Gordon.

INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, 1954-55, contains a review of archaeological work during the period, edited by A. Ghosh, under such headings as excavations, epigraphy, discoveries and publications.

SUMER, vol. 11, no. 2:—Geological aspects of the archaeology of Iraq, by H. E. Wright; Gedanken über den grossen Tempel in Hatra, von H. J. Lenzen; The latest report in the progress of the excavations at Nippur, by R. C. Haines; Texts divers du Musée de Bagdad, par J. J. A. van Dijk; Quelques considerations à propos des statues de Taharqa trouvées dans les ruines du Palais d'Esarhaddon, par V. Vickentiev; Pythagorean triads in Babylonian mathematics, by E. M. Bruins; Archaeological reconnaissance of Jebel Sinam and Old Basra in Southern Iraq, by R. S. Solecki.

RIVISTA DI STUDI LIGURI, anno 21, nos. 3-4:—Scavi Italo-Spagnoli ad Ampurias, per N. Lamboglia; Les ports antiques de Narbonne, par M. Guy; Sulla cronologia delle anfore romane di età repubblicana, per N. Lamboglia; La ceramica iberica di Vada Sabatia, per G. Grossi; Sul cosiddetto mosaico di Arione a Ventimiglia, per D. Restagno.

ACCAD. NAZIONALE DEI LINCEI, vol. 10, fasc. 7-10:—Di un ritratto inedito di giovinetto nei musei oliveriani di Pesaro, per L. Fabbri.

NOTIZIE DEGLI SCAVI, ser. 8, vol. 9:—Contains accounts of excavations and discoveries at Premeno, Bologna, S. Mauro Pascoli, Riolo Bagni, Rimini, Reggio Emilia, Sestino, Magliano in Toscana, Pitigliano, Caere, Volterra, Gualdo Tadino, Roma, Azetium, Siracusa, Heraclea Minoa e Leontini.

BULL. DI PALEONTOLOGIA ITALIANA, n.s. 9, vol. 64:—Il culto dei morti e della fecondità-fertilità nella paleontologia della Sardegna, alla luce del folklore sardo e dell'etnologia, per V. Lanternari; Un'opera d'arte di magia venatoria, per A. M. Radmili; Nuovi graffiti preistorici nelle grotte del M. Pellegrino, per J. B. Marconi; Una nuova facies del paleolitico superiore italiano presente in Abruzzo, per A. M. Radmili; La stratigrafia dei livelli a ceramica ed i ciottoli con dipinti schematici antropomorfi della Grotta delle Felci, per G. Buchner; Recenti scavi nella grotta del Farneto, per G. M. Montanari e A. M. Radmili; Specchie di Puglia, per C. Drago; Il masso inciso di Borno in Valcamonica, per R. Battaglia e M. O. Acanfora; Problemi archeologici e storici di Roma primitiva, per P. Romanelli; Tomba arcaica a cremazione scoperta sul Palatino, per G. Carettoni; La stratigrafia e i più antichi materiali archeologici nella zona dell'arco di Augusto, per E. Gjerstad; Sepolcri di incinerati nella Valle del Foro Romano, per S. M. Puglisi.

FELIX RAVENNA, 3rd ser., fasc. 18:—Mosaici parietali scomparsi dagli antichi edifici sacri di Ravenna, per G. Bovini; Bronzetti etruschi del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna: Raffigurazioni di Ercole, per G. Mazzotti.

3rd ser., fasc. 19:—I mosaici di Kiew a San Michele arte russa, per G. Galassi; Ritratto del Patriarca serbo Pajšij nel Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, per S. Radojčić; Le origini di Ravenna e lo sviluppo della città in età romana, per G. Bovini.

RENDICONTI DELLA PONT. ACAD. ROMANA D'ARCH., vol. 28, fasc. 1-2:—Sulla decifrazione dei testi cretesi-micenei in lineare B, per M. Pallottino; Alcune osservazioni riguardanti materiale Pompeiano, per A. G. van Buren; Un rilievo di Anacapri, per F. Magi; Il tempio di Diana Tifatina nella chiesa di S. Angelo in Formis, per A. Ferrua; Le arti nella legislazione del secolo IV, per P. de Francisci; Le recenti scoperte agiografiche nel Coemeterium Majus, per P. Umberto M. Fasola; Documenti di simancas sulle tombe reali di Palermo, per G. Q. Giglioli; I soffitti della Sala del Concistoro e della Sala Regia in Vaticano, per H. van Dam van Isselt.

VIKING, 1955:—A dagger with an animal-head handle and other news from Karlebotn, by P. Simonsen; The Wagon: a study in the cultural history of the Bronze Age, by A. Hagen; Excavations at Gile, Østre Toten Parish, Oppland, by A. E. Herteig; Is the expansion of the migration period in Rogaland caused by immigrants or is it an internal development? by A. E. Herteig; The spearhead from Kvikne in Gudbrandsdal, by A. Liestøl; The Khazar fortress of Sarkel, by M. I. Artamonov; Early medieval tomb-stones from Eastern Norway, by B. C. Lange.

FONTES ARCHAEOLOGICI POSNANIENSES, vol. 5, 1954:—Les enceintes fortifiées de la civilisation lusacienne en Grande Pologne, par T. Malinowski; Un cimetière de la civilisation poméranienne et de la civilisation de tombeaux sous cloche à Chłapowo, par A. Lipińska; Bourgade et cimetière de la période romaine à Słopanowo, par K. Przewońna; Le cimetière de la période romaine de Sadowie, par S. Jasnosz.

Vol. 6, 1955:—Le cimetière de la civilisation lusacienne à Chojno, par W. Ziemińska; Matériaux pour l'étude du plus ancien habitat dans les environs de Pyszaca, par B. Kostrzewski; Trois cimetières de la période romaine: Czacz et Kokorzyn, distr. de Kościan et Pięczkowo, distr. de Środa, par B. Kostrzewski.

ARCHEOLOGICKÉ ROZHLEDY, ročník 7, sešit 6:—Habitats paléolithiques à la station de Barca I

près de Košice, par F. Prošek; Station lengyelinne à Nitra, par K. Šneidrová et E. Štoková; Nécropole à urnes de Haniska près Košice, par J. Pástor; Fortification du village otomanien de Barca près Košice, par J. Kabát; Fouilles de la nécropole à incinération de Mužla, par M. Novotná; Nécropole à incinération de l'âge ancien du fer à Zvolen, par G. Balaša; Fouilles d'un tumulus hallstattien de Réca en Slovaquie, par B. Chropovský; Trouvailles de La Tène dans la vallée de la Nitra en Slovaquie, par B. Benadik; Nécropole de La Tène tardive de Nebojša, par B. Chropovský; Nouvelles trouvailles de La Tène dans la vallée inférieure du Hron, par B. Novotný; Station de La Tène tardive de Zemplín en Slovaquie orientale, par K. Andel; De recherches de la civilisation celtique en Petite-Pologne, par A. Zaki; À propos de la question de polycéphalie des dieux slaves, par M. Beranová.

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## SCULPTURE

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

*Thursday, 2nd February 1956.* Sir James Mann, Hon. V.P.S.A., read a paper on 'An Inventory of the armour of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke'.

*Thursday, 9th February 1956.* Mr. A. R. Dufty, Secretary, read a paper on 'King's College Chapel and the Temple of Solomon'.

*Thursday, 16th February 1956.* Mr. P. L. Shinnie, F.S.A., read a paper on 'The Medieval Nubian monastery at Ghazali, Sudan'.

*Thursday, 23rd February 1956.* Mr. S. S. Frere, F.S.A., read a paper on 'The Verulamium Excavations, 1955'.

*Thursday, 1st March 1956.* Mrs. M. J. S. Price, Prof. R. H. Kinzig, Miss J. M. Munn-Rankin, Miss M. Dean-Smith, Mr. F. H. Thompson, Lieut.-Cdr. P. K. Kemp, the Earl of Euston, Mr. L. Ward, Prof. J. M. Hussey, Mr. R. A. Cohen, Mr. L. R. Muirhead, Dr. P. H. Reaney, Mr. C. Blair, Mr. M. D. Nightingale, and Miss L. H. Jeffery were elected Fellows.

*Thursday, 9th March 1956.* Mrs. Murray Threipland, F.S.A., read a paper on 'Excavations at St. Mawgan-in-Pyder', and Mr. R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., read a paper on 'The Roman "Mithraeum" at Burham, Kent'.

*Thursday, 15th March 1956.* Mr. G. U. S. Corbett, F.S.A., read a paper on 'The structural evidence for the arrangement of the Ionic frieze at Bassae'.

*Thursday, 22nd March 1956.* Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, F.S.A., Mr. J. R. C. Hamilton, F.S.A., and Miss Butcher read a paper on 'Recent excavations in the Tower of London'.

*Thursday, 12th April 1956.* Mr. C. A. R. Radford, Vice-President, read a paper on 'Excavations at Glastonbury, 1954', and Dr. D. B. Harden, F.S.A., and Mr. E. M. Jope, F.S.A., gave an account of the late Saxon glass-furnace.

*Monday, 23rd April 1956. Anniversary Meeting.* The following report of the Council for the year 1955-6 was read:

*Research*—Excavations at Verulamium under the direction of Mr. S. S. Frere, F.S.A., resulted in important discoveries, an Interim Report on which will be included in the next number of the *Antiquaries Journal*.

Grants from the Research Fund have been made to: the Verulamium Excavation Committee; the Roman town and villa at Great Casterton; the Silchester Excavation Committee; the Caernarvonshire Historical Society for Dinas Emrys; and the Oxford University Expedition to Socotra.

The Research Fund Appeal issued in May last year has resulted in cash donations of £625 and a further £245 per annum under seven-year covenants.

*Morris Fund*—Grants have been made for the repair of churches at: Foremark (Derby); Coleridge, Haccombe (Devon); Billingham, Brancepeth (Durham); Abbey Dore (Hereford); Cranbrook (Kent); Cadney, Cherry Willingham (Lincs.); Stoke Albany (Northants.); Yelford (Oxon.); Caldecott, Morcott (Rutland); Farleigh (Surrey); Arlington (Sussex); Stockton (Wilts.); and for the Ruding brass at Biggleswade (Beds.).

A grant was also made to the Central Council for the Care of Churches towards the expenses of the visit by a Swedish expert on the treatment of painted woodwork.

*Croft Lyons Fund*—The editorial work on the *Dictionary of British Arms* has been continued with a view to the publication of the medieval portion at the earliest possible moment. It has been

decided to publish a second volume of *Aspilogia* to contain the Matthew Paris shields, Glover's Roll and Walford's Roll.

*Publications*—The *Antiquaries Journal* has appeared regularly. *Archaeologia*, vol. 96 and Research Report No. 18, *Alalakh*, by Sir Leonard Woolley, were published last year. *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* by Dr. Joan Evans, Director, will be ready very shortly.

*Library*—Part of the balance of the Pilgrim Trust grant enabled a check to be made in July of about one-third of the printed books and periodicals. Fourteen books and 2 parts of periodicals previously reported missing were found; 8 further books and 6 parts of periodicals were listed as missing, making the aggregate of missing items (for the two years) 169 books and 93 parts of periodicals.

The Library received a generous gift from Lord Nathan of some scarce volumes and parts of the important series *Monumenti Antichi* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei). A bequest was received from the late Miss Susan Taylor, from the Library of the late E. R. Taylor, F.S.A., of about 70 volumes, chiefly on medieval subjects, also numerous guide-books and a complete set of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition.

A shelf-rack has been installed in the main Library room for the display of a selection of current periodicals.

During the year some 930 books and periodicals were borrowed by Fellows and 42 by the National Central Library.

A New Catalogue of the Society's pictures has been compiled by Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig and it is hoped to publish this in the near future.

*General*—Regular meetings have been held throughout the session. The Bicentenary Fund, which remains open, continues to receive occasional donations. The capital of the Fund, which bears the cost of the Research Series and all Occasional Publications of the Society, amounted at the end of 1955 to about £16,600.

The Libya Map Committee has sponsored the preparation of a map of the Eastern Desert based on the work of Dr. David Meredith, which it is hoped to issue in the *Tabula Imperii Romani* series.

The President represented the Society on a deputation to the Postmaster General on the proposed increase in charges for book post. But it was found impracticable to relieve the learned societies of this additional burden.

A legacy of £1,000 has been received under the Will of Miss Susan Taylor in memory of her brother Edward Reginald Taylor (F.S.A. 1916-32).

The following gifts, other than printed books, have been received:

From Mrs. Oswald Barron:

A collection of miscellaneous papers and notes on heraldic subjects by the late Oswald Barron, F.S.A.

Bequeathed by Miss Edleston:

A roll of foreign brass-rubblings from the collection of R. H. Edleston, F.S.A.

From Dr. Joan Evans, Director:

Cast of the twelfth-century seal of Abbeville, Somme.

From H. R. Hodgkinson, F.S.A.:

Rubbing of part of an inscription from the lost brass, Stonor Chapel, Oxon.

From J. C. Page-Phillips:

Rubbing of a palimpsest brass, Stoke Charity, Hants.

*Obituary*: The following Fellows have died since the last Anniversary:

*Honorary Fellow*

Professor Haakon Shetelig, 23rd July 1955.

*Ordinary Fellows*

John Allan, C.B., M.A., LL.D., F.B.A., 26th August 1955.  
 Mrs. Daisy Emily Martin Clarke, 17th June 1955.  
 Rev. Christopher Benson Crofts, 26th May 1955.  
 William Ingram Leeson Day, 25th August 1955.  
 Lt.-Col. Sydney Elliot Glendinning, D.S.O., M.I.E.E., 21st April 1956.  
 Arthur Robert Green, M.R.C.S., 25th June 1955.  
 Louis Arthur Hamand, 18th July 1955.  
 Sir Albert Edward Delaval Astley, Lord Hastings, J.P., D.L., 18th January 1956.  
 Walter Leo Hildburgh, M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., 25th November 1955.  
 Stephen Reginald Hobday, O.B.E., 4th February 1956.  
 Edwyn Jervoise, M.B.E., 3rd November 1955.  
 Alexander Keiller, 27th October 1955.  
 Edward Thurlow Leeds, M.A., 17th August 1955.  
 Edwin William Lovegrove, M.A., M.R.I.A., 11th March 1956.  
 Victor Earle Nash-Williams, M.A., D.Litt., 15th December 1955.  
 Charles Partridge, M.A., 21st December 1955.  
 Archibald George Blomefield Russell, C.V.O., B.A., 30th November 1955.  
 Philip Sturdy, 28th May 1955.  
 Frank Walter Tyler, 1st September 1955.  
 William Valentine Wade, M.A., 23rd October 1955.  
 Major George Goold Walker, D.S.O., M.C., 24th December 1955.  
 Clodesley Stannard Willis, 15th December 1955.  
 Herbert Wood, B.A., 20th June 1955.

The Scrutators having handed in their report, the following were declared elected officers and members of Council for the ensuing year: Sir Mortimer Wheeler, President; Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Treasurer; Dr. Joan Evans, Director; Mr. A. R. Dufty, Secretary; Dr. A. J. Arkell, Mrs. M. A. Cotton, Mrs. M. D. Cox, Miss V. M. Dallas, Sir E. de Normann, Mr. St. J. O. Gamlen, Mr. R. Gilyard-Beer, Prof. W. F. Grimes, Prof. H. F. Humphreys, Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates, Mr. E. Croft Murray, Prof. S. Piggott, Mr. C. A. R. Radford, Dr. H. N. Savory, Dr. J. Walker, Mr. G. F. Webb and Prof. F. Wormald.

The President then delivered his Anniversary Address (p. 166), at the conclusion of which he presented the Society's Gold Medal to Professor Vere Gordon Childe.

*Thursday, 3rd May, 1956.* The President announced that he had appointed Prof. F. Wormald to be a Vice-President.

Mr. F. Jenkins, Mr. P. E. Jones, Miss F. M. Blomfield, Mr. E. D. C. Jackson, Mr. T. J. Brown, Mr. S. D. T. Spittle, Dr. G. R. Willey, the Earl of Verulam, Mr. G. T. Jones, Mr. T. A. Bailey and Mrs. M. Tomlinson were elected Fellows.

*Thursday, 10th May 1956.* Prof. W. F. Grimes, Vice-President, and Mrs. A. Williams, F.S.A., read a paper on 'The Temple of Mithras in Walbrook'.

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